A Century at Chignecto

THE KEY TO OLD ACADIA

WILL R. BIRD

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A CENTURY AT CHIGNECTO

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WILL R. BIRD

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PREFACE

This is the story of the Isthmus of Chignecto, the most interesting neck of land in North America. It is centred on the Beausejour hill, now "Fort Beausejour National Park," the noble promontory that overlooks Chignecto Basin, commanding a view of rivers and mountains, of fertile lands and villages embosomed among the hills.

The average history is shunned by our youth, who tire quickly of jumbled dates and lists of rulers, and this book is an attempt to portray a picture that will prove entertaining. Again, stories of Canada, or even of a single province, do not make room for detailed records of any particular section. Therefore, my ambition is to present, in narrative form, the romance and adventure that attended storied Chignecto.

Acadia is the cradle of romance on this continent. Call back the courtly customs of Port Royal, the noble exploits of Madame La Tour, the fierce engagements off our coasts, when only King Fog was the ruling authority in Fundy's mighty waters, visualize the tranquillity and plenty of the Acadian villages of Grand Pré and Beaubassin, and you have history with a charm that has never been equalled. Mingle with this the legends of the Micmac race, Acadian Indians far above the majority of American red men; learn their stories of Glooscap, their Man-God, their conception of the Deity, nearer to Christianity than any other form of uncivilized worship, and you will

realize what we have lost in neglecting the lore of these originals, whose etiquette was above reproach, whose morals were far better than our own, and whose love of the beautiful led them to seek and name all Nature's beauty spots, to endow them with such musical titles as "Stream of the Hills," "Battle of Rainbows," "Lake of the Morning," "Sleeping River," "Pool of Nights," etc. Then add to all the the crimson records of a century of forest duels between the English and French, lurid accounts of blazing torches in the night, of stealthy prowlers about the ramparts of old Beausejour and Gasperaux, of hectic struggles for fisheries and farm lands—and where can you find its rival?

Chignecto was the very key to old Acadia, her importance was recognized by all claimants, the halfway house between Quebec and Louisburg, the old border line of warring red men, the headquarters of the most famous characters in Acadian history, the refuge of all the Acadian deserters: every acre of Chignecto is steeped in history.

In writing this story of Chignecto I have searched most carefully for facts from all available sources, and am deeply indebted to many of our historians as well as to the many kind friends who have in their possession old documents, letters, and diaries.

From boyhood I have probed about the ruins of the old forts described, have explored the entire Isthmus, to realize that many thrilling dramas on this most important of Maritime stages will never be known. If by my effort I have kindled in the rising generation a deeper interest in the history of their homeland, the history of their forefathers, I shall feel I have won my wage.

I—THE FIRST SETTLERS AND THE RED MEN

THE ISTHMUS of Chignecto is the narrow neck of land that prevents Nova Scotia from being an island. From Chignecto Basin northeasterly to the waters of Northumberland Strait the narrowest part of the Isthmus is seventeen miles across. The southern slope is drained by the Tantramar, Aulac, Missiquash and La Planche rivers; the Tidnish River and smaller streams drain the slope to the northward. A short portage connects the heads of the Missiquash and Tidnish rivers, which form the boundary between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and this old waterway was used when the red men were the sole occupants of this continent. At the southern slope of the Isthmus lay the world-famed Tantramar marshes, intersected by three ridges and the four tide-ruled rivers. The dominating ridge ends in a noble promontory that overlooks the Basin, and the crown of the promontory is known in history as "Butte à Beausejour." Paralleling it on the Scotian side, with a mile of marshland and the Missiquash between, lies the Fort Lawrence ridge, known in history as "Beaubassin." Beyond it again, separated by more marsh and the La Planche River, lies the Amherst ridge, known once as "La Planche." The Isthmus proper is ten miles in width and embraces wooded slopes and boggy regions.

Ages and ages ago the marshes were a mighty

forest. Dig where you will on these rich acres and at the depth of thirty feet one will find petrified logs, roots, stumps, and massed vegetation. Before the white men came the tides flooded these areas and they formed feeding grounds for countless thousands of wild fowl. The first record we have of any European in these parts is when Diego Homen, a Portuguese, voyaged into Chignecto waters in 1558 and made a map showing the Basin. Champlain and De Monts sailed by the mouth of the inlet in 1604, but did not enter.

The first Canadian colony, at Port Royal, was well begun when Jean Biencourt, accompanied by Father Biard, set out to explore a wonderful region the red men described that lay a five-day trip to the north. Four Indians served as their guides and they made the journey in safety, halting at the Indian villages that lay on the Amherst ridge, then covered with a magnificent growth of pines. The Indians called the La Planche River "Mascoudugain," and had three encampments along its banks, the chief one being "Nemalooskudaagun." Below it lay "Weehekage," and a mile nearer the Basin was the place where they beached their canoes, called "Saukadebootch," meaning a resting place.

Father Biard in his record of the trip states: "At Chignecto there is a beautiful prairie as far as you can see. Several rivers discharge themselves into the Bay. The Indians number sixty or eighty souls, and they are not as vagabondish as others, because this spot is more retired and more abundant in chase for food. The country is for the most part agreeable, and to my mind of great fertility if cultivated."

Shortly after their visit to Chignecto, Biencourt

and the missionary quarrelled, Biard was captured by English adventurers and guided them to Port Royal to gain his revenge. The little settlement was laid in ashes and so for years no white men disturbed the Micmac villages. Among those first explorers were men of education, and it is interesting to read their accounts of the savages of Acadia. They described them as well-fed, light-footed, swarthy, beardless, pleasing specimens, with tall, slender, agile forms, high cheek bones and lustrous hazel eyes, with the five bodily senses trained to most exquisite keenness. The Indians called their white comrades the "Normans." Their arms were the arrow and club or tomahawk. The former were pointed with bone, the latter were made of hardwood, with a cutting edge of flinty stone. Their wigwams were of birch bark, twelve feet in diameter, pitched by river or at the seashore in summer, in winter hidden in the forests. They had a name for each pole, fastening and covering of the wigwam, and the squaws were very adept at taking down or erecting their home. The rear of the wigwam was reserved for visitors, as Micmac etiquette held sway, the children were to the right of the entrance, and the squaw had her place to the left.

These first inhabitants of Nova Scotia ranked higher in intellect, were possessed of finer traits, than their neighbours of Upper Canada. The first-comers from Europe found them exceedingly hospitable, truthful and honest in character. Their household utensils were made of wood, stone, horn, or bone, and they used rude pots baked from coarse clay. Their furs, canoes and snowshoes were their main possessions. They had no belief, except of some vague future state, but their care of the aged,

their fondness of children, and their hospitality made amends for their lack of religion. They believed that the spirits of evil and war could only be propitiated by bloody sacrifices, and a firm belief in tutelary angels and in dreams led them to hold in high esteem the medicine men who assumed to be interpreters of supernatural communications and were thought to prevent or permit rain, turn aside thunder bolts, predict events of importance and secure success of their hunting and fishing expeditions.

They were masters of the art of taking the hair from animal hides and of softening skins, making their garments from pelts of the bear, otter, beaver and fox. Bear's claws and dyed porcupine quills formed their chief ornaments, though the women wore rings of shells and wampum. The braves when on the war path, stained their bodies with teal in fancied resemblances of beasts and serpents, while their scalp locks were decorated with brightly-hued feathers, fixed in a most eccentric style. The Frenchmen were most impressed with the funeral rites of the Indians. They mourned for days over their dead, groaning, crying, singing and dancing incessantly. The corpse would be placed at the door of his wigwam, his visage painted and his body wearing the distinctive symbols he had won in war and hunting. A special speaker would extol in extravagant language the exploits of the deceased, while the squaws blacked their faces and uttered discordant moans. Usually the warrior was laid to rest in a grave lined with the richest furs and attended by his weapons and eating utensils; but sometimes he was wrapped in birch bark sheets and placed on a platform high in a tree. The Micmac

liked the sweet sticky mixtures they concocted in the spring from the sap of the maples that grew in the Chignecto locality, and the encampments by the marshes were then overwhelmed with visitors.

Chignecto's stirring century began in 1672 when Jacques Bourgeois of Port Royal, during one of his expeditions after fur, discovered the marshes and their rich adjoining uplands. He at once returned to the colony, sold his farm and induced his two sons-in-law, Pierre Sire and Germain Girouard, to go with him to carve new homes in the fertile Chignecto district. Girouard's two brothers-in-law, Jacques Belon and Thomas Cormier, and Pierre Aresenault also resolved to make the move, and the little company embarked in Bourgeois' shallop. They landed safely on the Beaubassin ridge and at once erected log shelters. Bourgeois was a typical immigration leader, a surgeon, and a notable man; his name appears in the capitulation of 1654 as brother-in-law and lieutenant of Doucet de la Verdure, guardian of the children of d'Aulay, and commandant at Port Royal; and he was one of the hostages delivered to the English.

The Indians were friendly, fish, wild fowl and game were abundant, and the new-comers fared well. Bourgeois made several trips back to Port Royal and transported pigs, sheep and cattle to his new colony, which became known as "Bourgeois Settlement." The richest land bordered the marshes and their first crops exceeded anything they had known. Their homes were built of logs, chinked with moss and clay. Fireplaces were built of stone and the chimneys were laid with crossed sticks, which were mortared with river mud, mixed with straw. The settlers supplemented their larders with quantities

of cranberries they found on the marshes, with raspberries and strawberries from the uplands. At Port Royal they had known lean years when each was issued weekly food, recorded as consisting of ten ounces of bread, a half-pound of lard, three dishes of peas and one dish of prunes. They had great difficulty in the first years protecting their stock from bears and wolves that haunted the ridges. Four years passed and their colony thrived exceedingly. More settlers came from Port Royal, more land was cleared and their herds multiplied; then into the picture stepped a character typical of New France—Sieur de La Vallière.

Talon, in 1667, states there were only four families of noble blood in Canada, Repentigny, Tilly, Poterie and Aillibout, and he asks for patents for five more. Michel Le Neuf, Sieur de La Vallière, belonged to the Poterie family who came from Caen to Quebec in 1638. He was born in 1641 and after an adventurous boyhood was sent to France at the age of seventeen to finish his studies. He was doubly connected with the Denys family by marriage. In 1666 he was in the service of the French King as military officer in the territories of Nicholas Denys in Cape Breton, and there married Marie Françoise daughter of Nicholas. She died in Chignecto in 1683 and was buried there, and Vallière married again in 1687, his second wife being Françoise, a niece of Denys. This woman left him and lived at Quebec until she was assassinated by her female servant on the 12th of September, 1721.

Sieur de La Vallière was a daring, resourceful explorer, a soldier, a sailor and a trader. He travelled over the New World from Hudson Bay to Cape Cod—at a time when the canoe and snowshoes

were the only methods of transportation. In 1671 he was on an expedition to western lakes the Indians described, a year later he was at Chignecto in time to greet Bourgeois and his fellows. Vallière cast a shrewd eye over the lands they had chosen and bided his time. He went to Lake St. Francis on a trading expedition, and the year after was at Three Rivers where he lived outside the Fort—and Jesuit records name him as a godfather at Indian christenings. At the missionary's request he accompanied Father Dablon to Hudson Bay in an effort to find new races of savages. He was appointed Captain of Governor Frontenac's Guard, and rendered whatever service was asked of him with courage and dispatch. Then came a lull in the fighting at Upper Canada, and fresh shiploads of blue-bloods. Frontenac had more helpers than he needed. La Vallière remembered the lands he had surveyed at Chignecto, and so we find this paragraph in the records: "On October 24th, 1676, Frontenac, Governor of Canada, granted to Michel Le Neuf de La Vallière the title of fief and seigneury of the country of Chignecto, with power to administer superior, middle and low justice, and the rights of hunting and fishing."

The bounds of this seigneury, as set forth in the grant, show it extended "ten leagues in front, which are on the south side between Cape Breton and Isle Percé, beginning from the river Kigiskouabouguet, comprising the same to another river called Kimoutgouiche, also comprises with ten leagues in depths inland, wherein the Bau Chignitou and Cape Tormentin are part." This grant was held by homage at the Chateau of Louis at Quebec. No richer tract of land could be named in the Maritime provinces

than that chosen by this shrewd French rover. It was bounded by what are now Petitcodiac, Shemogue, River Philip and Springhill, and embraced forests, fisheries, mines and marshes, rivers for navigation and the coasts of two great bays. Even the Council of Versailles did not comprehend the boundaries, and ignorance of them later caused Pierre Thibideau, of Port Royal, to establish at Chipoudy, and Guillaume Blanchard at Fox Creek. They shipped their grain, equipment and stock by boat as Bourgeois had done, and, as in his case, were favoured with the assistance of numerous relations.

La Vallière came to his new estate via Baie Verte, and great was the astonishment of Bourgeois. The new ruler did not, however, interfere in any way with those already in his domain. Between the Fort Lawrence and Beausejour ridges there is an "island" or rising in the marshes, known to-day as "Tonge's Island." There La Vallière established himself, and on French maps the place is called "Isle La Vallière." He settled himself in feudal style, enclosing his possessions and the homes of himself and his retinue with a stockade of timbers. He cleared the "island," "dyked" the marsh to some extent, built a mill to grind his corn, and then constructed a small vessel which he named the *St. Antoine.* With it he skirted the shores of Acadia and purchased furs from the Indians, and when the Bishop of Quebec, in 1689, made his first pastoral visit to the province he was taken as passenger in this shallop, wherein the trader had stowed a cargo of brandy and trivial European gifts for the savages. In 1679 the second oldest church in Acadia was built on the Isle La Vallière by Claude Moreau,

a priest of the Recollet Order. (This valuable information has been gleaned from a manuscript found in a mayor's office in a small town of Southern France.) The church was built of mud, surrounded and reinforced by stones and thatched with straw. Frontenac accepted a grant made by La Vallière of land at Beaubassin to Recollet priests, which was made before Ammer, a notary at Three Rivers. It was called the "Church of Notre Dame De Bons Secours." The cemetery of the church was across the river and all funerals had to be held at low tide. Over a century later, when the Intercolonial Railway was being built, the workmen in making a cutting disturbed this old cemetery. La Vallière had a secretary, named Hache Galand, who married one of the Acadian maidens from Port Royal, Anne Cormier, and their descendants still remain in this section of the country. The first baptism recorded in the old church register is that of Claire Cormier on July 3rd, 1684. On the 2nd of May was recorded the marriage of Pierre Buhot, aged 33, to Madelaine Poirer. The ceremony was performed by Abbé De Buslay, and Buhot is described as "master of a chaloupe (vessel) at Isle St. John (Prince Edward Island.)" He later moved to the Isthmus and settled on a little hill on the Beausejour ridge some three miles up the marshes. There the Acadians had a trail and a river crossing, and when a pole bridge was laid the place was named "Buhot's Bridge." This was changed afterwards to "Buhot's Pont," to "Pont au Buot," and is now "Point De Bute." The last entry in the old church document is the baptism of Madeline Veno on March 24th, 1727, so it is likely that the mud structure collapsed at that time and the new chapel at Beaubassin was erected.

II—LA VALLIÈRE'S TROUBLED REIGN

ISLE VALLIÈRE is the exact centre of the Maritime Provinces, and when a marauding Dutch vessel carried off the governor of Acadia Frontenac promptly appointed Sieur de La Vallière to the office, and so from his manor house on the marshes he ruled Acadia seventy years before Halifax was founded. Frontenac promised him a salary of 1,800 livres a year, but La Vallière never drew a sou of pay. Being thus left to earn his living by his industry and wits he fished and traded extensively. Frontenac wrote that the English had not liberty either to trade or fish in Acadia without express permission, and agreement as to what each vessel should pay for the privilege. He also sent this same order to the Governor at Boston. Vallière at once saw an opportunity to gain more revenue and forthwith began to sell fishing license to foreign vessels who wished to fish in Fundy waters, charging them the sum of five pistoles each, or about twenty-five dollars. The French King, in 1760, had issued a decree forbidding any New Englanders to fish on Acadian coasts. Paris, however, was a long way off and Vallière had no salary. He was carrying on his office without monetary support, and was on good terms with Boston.

Vallière's domestics were François Leger, Gabriel Leger, Michel l'Arche and Marie Lagasse. Besides these he had M. Pertuis as armourer. He owned

nineteen horned cattle, twenty-two sheep and twelve swine, and had sixty acres cultivated. He had eight children. Alexander, the oldest, was born in Cape Breton in 1666. He was Seigneur de Beaubassin, and "Bourgeois Settlement" was renamed "Beaubassin." This Seigneur was a captain of a French company of mariners, and was made by his king a Chevalier of St. Louis. He died on board His Majesty's ship, *Les Heroes*, and was buried at sea in 1712. Jacques and Jean Baptiste, known as Sieur de Canseau, left Quebec in 1690 with an expedition bound for Catarqui (Kingston, Ont.). Nothing was ever heard or seen of them again and their fate remains a mystery. It was supposed that they encountered hostile Indians and were slain. Marie Joseph, the eldest daughter, was married in 1692 to a Cadet of the House of Repentigny. Michel became a major in the French service. He married, at Plaisance, Newfoundland, Renée Delaguelle, and had a numerous family. He died at Louisburg in 1740. Marguerite was the beauty of the family. Her royal breeding showed in her exquisite colouring and graceful carriage, and her father named the Missiquash river "The Marguerite" in honour of her. No romantic career was in store for her, however. She married a widower who had buried two wives, Louis de Gannes. They had a large family, and she died in Three Rivers in 1760. Barbe was baptized at Beaubassin in 1681 by Father Claude Moreau. She married Louis de Florillion of Quebec and died in Montreal in 1733.

La Vallière's free-handed ways soon got him into trouble. In February, 1680, the French King granted to Sieur Bergier of Rochelle, to Gautier, Boucher and de Mantes, bourgeois of Paris, all lands that

they should find suitable along the coast of Acadia and the River St. John for a shore fishery. This strong company proceeded to their territory at once and established stations at Chedabucto and Canseau. Bergier soon noticed that English craft fished wherever they fancied in his domain, and he took stringent measures. He armed his vessel, the *St. Louis*, and cruised with it for two months, capturing in all eight English fishermen, the *Mary*, *Adventure*, *Swallow*, *Rose*, *Industry*, *Lark*, *Friendship* and a second *Industry*. Their masters were taken to Rochelle and tried. Six were duly punished, but the other two exhibited permits sold them by La Vallière, and Bergier was compelled to take them back to Boston and indemnify them for their losses. He complained bitterly to La Vallière of his breach of law and a lasting quarrel rose between them, which culminated when the Seigneur discovered that Bergier was buying up all the fur in the country. La Vallière took his son, Beaubassin, his brother-in-law Richard Denys, and six armed men, and with them invaded Bergier's post at Cape Breton. He forced an entrance to the building in the night and took Bergier and his men prisoners, seizing all their furs, goods, and a boat. Bergier escaped later and at once appealed to the French King, representing his losses at 2,000 livres. The Indians had evidently found that Bergier paid the higher prices and journeyed to the Canseau post to trade their pelts. This maddened La Vallière so that he intercepted an Indian chief called "Negascouet" and took from him seventy elk skins, sixty marten, four beaver, and two otter pelts. The red man at once reported his loss to Bergier with the result that an order was prayed for Sieur Perrot or Sieur de La

Boulage, who held colonial authority, to come to Acadia and arrest La Vallière and all his party. Port Royal fitted out six fishing vessels. Carter, of Salem, obtained a license from La Vallière for fifty livres, and then induced New England pirates to seize the six fishermen, and went with them to Canso on the errand. Bergier complained bitterly of this action, blaming La Vallière for it all, as he had granted license to Carter. He also represented that La Vallière was selling all rights to the English, was hated by the Indians, and was jealous of his betters.

Bergier had gold to back his arguments as well as influence with those who were in contact with the King. La Vallière had indirect connections via Quebec, had never played the favourite in French courts, and had a habit of ignoring official injunctions. Consequently all judgments went against him. La Vallière had had a difficult time getting recognized as governor of Acadia. In 1683 Sieur de La Barre, Governor of Canada, wrote Vallière not to let the English trade or fish off Acadia or take coal without due. On May 1st, 1684, he wrote him again, saying that by Royal dispatch of August 5th, 1683, the King chose him Governor of Acadia with salary of 1,800 livres, patent to follow. His own granting of the command followed. Thus Vallière had been approved by Frontenac, de La Barre, and his King, yet could not get his promised money. Frontenac had tried to obtain it for him, in 1681, had quarrelled with the Intendant du Chesneau over the matter, and the Intendant in a letter to France dated November 13th, 1681, wrote: "He abused me very much in his study because I had refused to authorize the payment of a somewhat large sum of

money to Sieur de La Vallière in whom he had conferred the government of Acadia. I justified myself in the precise demand of the King, and of his lordship, M. de Seignlay, not to direct the payment of any money before it was entered on His Majesty's estimate."

La Vallière had one ardent defender in M. Denvuville, who wrote on November 10th, 1686: "Sieur de La Vallière has for some time commanded in Acadia, where I think he has one of the best settlements in the country. I invited him to go to France, where he will be able to give you information of the country, he having applied himself to the fisheries for several years. A poor wretch named Bergier whom M. de Chevry had for the direction of his affairs, has stirred him up with the Company. As I know he is a rascal who has robbed, I suspect strongly that La Vallière has not all the wrong on his side. He is a good man and very needy."

However, on April 10th, 1684, a decree was issued at Versailles to La Barre, stating: "That although the Sieur de La Vallière has no means or power to command on the coasts of Acadia, he has, nevertheless, meddled with the duties of the commandant in giving to strangers several permits to come and fish there in spite of the prohibition, and he himself is engaged in trade, which might, in the course of time, diminish that of the inshore fishery of Acadia and interfere with the establishment of the colony." This was signed and duly sealed by Louis XIV and Colbert, and the penalty for not respecting this edict was the fine of 300 livres. It was recorded by Claude Petit, registrar of the court at Port Royal, on July 20th, 1684, and Sieur d'Entrement, procurator of the King, was

charged with the duty of serving La Vallière with a notice thereof. La Vallière's daughter, Judith, who had been his right hand in the management of his affairs, was much in love with de Villieu, and this fellow took over La Vallière's affairs when the deposed ruler returned to Quebec two years after losing power. Judith and de Villieu were married. The Quebec authorities were perhaps a trifle ashamed of their non-support of La Vallière and he was granted a fine seigneury at Three Rivers. In 1694 we find him cruising the Gulf of St. Lawrence in command of the frigate *La Bouffon*, with his son, Beaubassin, as Lieutenant and another blueblood, de La Poterie, as ensign. In 1703 Beaubassin led a party of French and Indians into New England on a scalp-taking expedition. They captured Wells and killed over three hundred whites. In 1692 La Vallière was in command at Cataraqui, six years later he was major of Montreal, and in 1699 he was sent on an embassage to the Government at Boston. His name appears in 1702 on the occasion of his attending the marriage of his daughter, Barbe, after which it disappears from all church and official records. Such was the known career of this adventurer extraordinary, who so well recognized the splendid location of his seigneury at Chignecto.

There is a complete census of La Vallière's estate, taken in 1686. The Intendant of Canada, M. de Meulees, left Quebec in the autumn of 1685 to explore Acadia. He had with him a geographer and cartographer named Frankquelier. Their vessel was wrecked off the New Brunswick coast on the 31st of October, but by aid of some Indians they reached Chignecto, and spent the winter with La Vallière, Frankquelier staying the summer of 1686

as well. The maps he made are surprisingly correct, so there is every reason to believe that his census was just as authentic.

CENSUS OF LA VALLIÈRE

Name	Age	Guns	Acres	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
Vallière	49	70	60	19	22	12
Alexander	20	..	..	..	..	..
Jacques	17	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Joseph	19	..	..	..	..	..
Jean Baptiste	12	..	..	..	..	..
Judith	10	..	..	..	..	..
Michel	8	..	..	..	..	..
Marguerite	6	..	..	..	..	..
Barbe	4	..	..	..	..	..
Domestics—						
François Legère	55	..	..	..	..	..
Gabriel	20	..	..	..	..	..
Michel l'Arche	22	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Lagasse	16	..	..	..	..	..
Et M. (Nicholas) Pertuis Armourer		..	..	..	..	..
Manuel Mirande Portugais	38	..	..	..	..	..
Margaret Bourgeois	20	..	..	..	..	..
1st lit	..	..	..	..	..	..
Enfants de Jean Boudret	..	..	..	..	..	30
Marie	9	..	..	..	..	..
Joseph	5	..	..	..	..	..
François	4	..	..	..	..	..
Etienette	3	..	..	..	..	..
Jeanne	2	..	..	..	..	..
La Barre	50	..	..	..	..	..
Sa Femme	46	..	1	3	..	4
Marie Sa Fille	5	..	..	..	..	..
Germain Girourer	30	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Bourgeois	34	..	..	..	..	..
Enfants du Marie Bourgeois et de Pierre Cire.						
Jean	15	1	4	8	3	4
Pierre	8	..	..	..	..	..
Guillaume	6	..	..	..	..	..
Germain Girouard	4	..	..	..	..	..
Agnes	7 mos.	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre Morin	51	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Martin	44	..	30	15	8	1
10 Enfants.						
Louis	22	..	..	..	..	..
Antoine	20	..	..	..	..	..
Marie	18	..	..	..	..	..

Anne	16	..	..	..	..	..
Jacques	14	..	..	..	..	..
Charles	12	..	..	..	..	..
Margeurite	10	..	..	..	..	..
Jean	8	..	..	..	..	..
Jacques François	3	..	..	..	..	..
Jean Aubin Mignault	36	..	..	..	..	..
Anne Dagus	44	..	..	..	..	..
Enfants d'Elle et de Charles Bourgeois	2	..	8	20	4	24
Charles Bourgeois	14	..	..	..	..	..
Claude	12	..	..	..	..	..
Anne	7	..	..	..	..	..
Jean Mignault	6	..	..	..	..	..
Cecile	2½	..	..	..	..	..
Alexis	3 mos.	..	..	..	..	..
Jacques Cochin	26	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Maria	30	..	2	6	4	..
Pierre	3	..	..	..	..	..
Michael Poirier	37	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Budrot	36	1	7	13	3	8
Enfants—						
Michael	12	..	..	..	..	..
Claude	9	..	..	..	..	..
Anne	7	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre	6	..	..	..	..	..
Jean Baptiste	3	..	..	..	..	..
Louis	2	..	..	..	..	..
Robert Cottard	46	..	..	..	..	..
Susanne Jarvaselle	40	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre	6	1	2	2	1	1
Pierre Mercier	30	..	..	..	..	..
Andrée Martin (François)	37	..	..	..	..	..
Enfants d'Andrée Martin et de Pellemi	1	..	40	6	1	4
Marie	16	..	..	..	..	..
Anne	14	..	..	..	..	..
Isabelle	12	..	..	..	..	..
Jeanne	10	..	..	..	..	..
Catherine	18	..	..	..	..	..
Barre	6	..	..	..	..	..
Joseph Mercier	5	..	..	..	..	..
Madeline	3	..	..	..	..	..
Alexandre	2	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Joseph	6 mos.	..	..	..	..	..
Roger Quessy or Kuessy (Irish)	35	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Poirier	25	2	8	18	6	8
Marie	16	..	..	..	..	..
Jean	10	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre	8	..	..	..	..	..
Guillaume	6	..	..	..	..	..

Michel	1½	..	..	..	..	4
Germain Bourgeois	24	..	..	..	..	..
Michael Dugas	22	2	5	8	3	..
Guillaume	12	..	..	..	..	..
Marie	9	..	..	..	..	..
Michel	7	..	..	..	..	..
Madeleine	3	..	..	..	..	..
Lavallée	48	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Martin	23	2	40	20	12	15
Marguerite	3	..	..	..	..	..
Genevieve	3	..	..	..	..	..
And of 1st marriage of Lavallée 8 enfants.						
Lagasse	50	..	..	..	..	..
Marguerite Sa Femme	48	..	2	12	2	..
Gabriel	19	..	..	..	..	8
Jeanne	13	..	..	..	..	..
Marguerite	10	..	..	..	..	..
Anne	8	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre	6	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre Morin le fils	24	..	..	..	..	..
Jean Lavallée	18	2	6	14	6	8
Pierre	8	..	..	..	..	..
Jacques Blon	47	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Girouard	21	3	40	15	18	..
Marie	17	..	..	..	..	..
Jeanne	5	..	..	..	..	..
François	10 mos.	..	..	..	..	..
Thomas Cormier	55	..	..	..	..	..
Madeleine Germain	37	4	6	20	10	15
Madelein	18	..	..	..	..	..
François	16	..	..	..	..	..
Alexis	14	..	..	..	..	..
Marie	12	..	..	..	..	..
Germain	10	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre	8	..	..	..	..	..
Angélique	4	..	..	..	..	..
Marie Jeanne	1	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre Arsenault qui demeure a Port Royal possede dans La Seigneury de Beaubassin		1	20	8	4	6
Guillaume Bourgeois		2	30	8	3	..
Claude Dugas		..	38	8	..	..

SUMMARY

Persons	127
Guns	102
Cultivated Lands Arpents	426
Horned Cattle	236
Sheep	111
Pigs	189

"Memoires Generaux 1686. Beaubassin or Chignecto and Bay Verte" is an account, no doubt by the same authority, of the village Bourgeois founded.

"Bay Verte is in the straits of St. Lawrence and sixty-five or seventy leagues from Isle Percie in a straight line and three leagues from Isle St. Jean. It is five leagues wide at its entrance and about as long. It dimishes gradually in width from entrance to head. The land appears to be fairly good on both sides. There are at the head of the said Bay three great meadows, sufficient to sustain many cattle, there are only four leagues to be transversed by land to go to the French Bay, and even if one wishes one can make a portage of one league at the end of which one finds a little river three leagues long, which empties into the head of the French Bay at a place which is called Beaubassin or Chignectou.

"The Bay of Beaubassin is a quarter of a league across at its mouth, is two leagues long and one wide. There is all around the said Beaubassin so great an extent of meadow that a hundred thousand horned cattle could be fed there. The grass which grows there is called Misotte, it is very suitable for grazing all kinds of cattle. On both sides of the said meadows are pleasant uplands all covered with virgin forest. There have already been erected there more than twenty-two dwellings upon the small eminences which the inhabitants have chosen there in order to have access to the meadows and the woods.

"There is not a single one of its inhabitants who has not three or four buildings quite suitable for the country. Most of them have already twelve or fifteen horned cattle, and even as many as twenty, ten or twelve pigs, and as many sheep. They do not take the trouble to put them in stables except

for two or three months of the year and when they wish to prepare them for slaughter. For this reason they lose many of them through wolves eating them. They have not yet a large quantity of plowed land, but when they have arrived at the point of having enough to give them their supply of wheat, they will be very happy and independent of foreigners. Most of the women make cloth with which they clothe themselves and also their husbands. They make nearly all the stockings for their families and do without buying them. They all provide themselves with the Indian shoes only which they make for themselves. There comes every year into this place an English ship which brings them the rest of their small needs which they buy for furs which they have had from the savages. They also make linen cloth. Beaubassin is twenty-five or thirty leagues from Port Royal in a straight line, and twenty-five from the mouth of the St. John River.

"The portage of one league which goes from Bay Verte to the said place, Beaubassin, which was spoken of above, may be easily cut through by a canal, since all the land there is very low. In this case communication would be made between the French Bay and the Straits of St. Lawrence, which would shorten the way from Quebec to Port Royal by at least two hundred leagues. This communication would also permit numerous settlements to grow up in a short time; and the ships from Quebec could carry on with all the inhabitants of Beabassin Bay, the Mines, Port Royal and other places in Acadia and on the St. John River, all the trade which the English carry on there every year, which is considerable; for every summer there comes to

these shores at least three or four ships from Boston which sell, at whatever price they wish, all their goods to the inhabitants of Acadia, which always hinders the settlement of the country. Even if this canal were built at the beginning only ten or twelve feet wide, if the sea once passed through, it would make in a short time a very fine river by which ships from Quebec could easily pass.

"This would give all the merchants of Canada who send their ships to Anticosti and Isle Percie a chance to send them also to Port Royal by this passage. The English of Boston are regarded as the lords of all these shores, because they are continually there and carry on all the trade there, and because they are better liked by the inhabitants than are the French. Even without this communication it is almost a necessity to let them trade there, because the people of Acadia cannot get any help from the French, by reason of the long distance from Quebec to Boston, more than 400 leagues, so that it is necessary to take nearly all summer for the voyage, which would be too much of an undertaking for the merchants of Quebec. The trade which the English carry on with the inhabitants of Acadia gives them a chance to catch fish, for drying, in the waters that belong to the King of France. Thus it comes about that the French work only for the English to whom most of them owe considerable sums.

"It must again be remarked that the English by the large trade which they carry on with the people of Acadia, draw them to their service, and induce them to go out and take up their abode among them. This is so true that all the coast which belongs to the English is filled with French by the

presents and great advantages which they afford them. This place, Beaubassin, is so happily situated for raising considerable numbers of cattle that it is assumed that if His Majesty wishes to make a town of Port Royal, there would be found in Beaubassin enough cattle to make a trade with the Islands and to furnish them their provision of beef which they now draw from foreign countries. The cattle which are now there are of a poor breed which it would be necessary to change, at the expense of sending there only thirty which would be given to as many of the inhabitants, who would sell a like number of them at the end of eighteen months. They would give them again to others, and in this manner the country would soon be supplied with horned cattle.

"The cows which are there at present are very small and do not allow themselves to be milked except only when their calves are sucking. This prevents the inhabitants from obtaining from their cattle their supply of butter. Monsieur de La Vallière is the Seignior. During the six or seven years that he has been settled here he has drawn to himself, by the esteem in which he is held, nearly all the inhabitants who had settled there. He has had a mill built there at his own expense and was so esteemed when he had the honour of commanding in the country of Acadia, before Monsieur Perrot, that several took pleasure in taking up land in his seigniory, because he always helped them as much as he could, as he is doing now. It would be a good thing if the other seigneurs had the same wisdom and moderation. The whole country of Acadia would thereby soon be settled."

La Vallière's son-in-law, de Villieu, was a relentless fighter, of bad temper. He was not liked at

Beaubassin, which village had grown steadily with the years and was rivalling Port Royal in flocks and cultivation. After perusing Vallière's grant, de Villieu undertook to remove the settlers from Fox Creek and Chipoudy, or get them to pay rents as the folk of Beaubassin did. He carried his cause to French courts and after years of persistent appeals gained his goal. The pioneers who had so well earned their homes at these outlying points were forced to evacuate, but Villieu gained little for his mean work. He could not get settlers to plant the fields for him and no revenue ever came his way from the deserted farms. In 1694 he roused a band of over five hundred Micmacs, Malecites and Abenaquis, and led them into New Hampshire, destroying Dover, burning houses and killing settlers at York and Kittery. In all he killed 104 persons, burned sixty houses, and took twenty-seven prisoners. The scalps he gathered were taken direct to Quebec for the premium offered. Two years later de Villieu took part in the capture of Pemiquid, but was himself taken prisoner when a British squadron came to the aid of the fort. He was taken to Boston, but was afterward released and in 1700 was for a short time governor of Acadia. After this we find him falling from favour through his ugly disposition and finally he had to appeal to the French King for aid. So ended the reign of the La Vallière family at Chignecto.

In 1685 the Intendant of Canada visited Chignecto and described the place as exceedingly prosperous, the farms well stocked with swine and cattle. He did not estimate the population, but said there were twenty-two substantial dwellings. In 1686 a census was taken, showing there were 127

people in the settlement. They had 426 acres in cultivation, 236 horned cattle, 111 sheep, and 189 swine. Their surnames were Mirande, Girouer, Poirer, Quessy, Bourgeois, Morin and Cormier. Bourgeois had ever remained the leader of the colony and when Port Royal was captured by William Phipps, in 1689, he had journeyed thither and declared that Beaubassin would be obedient to English rule. Thereupon Phipps gave him a written pledge that the people of Beaubassin would never be molested while under British protection. The Acadians grew oats, rye, barley, flax, wheat and maize. They had extensive orchards, having thirty-two acres in apple trees on the Beaubassin ridge. They made their own clothing of wool and linen, made cider for a beverage, and a spruce beer after a Micmac recipe. It was rarely that they needed anything they could not produce and their few simple needs were supplied by traders or at the store houses of Port Royal and Louisburg. The priests drew up all public regulations and attended to the dividing of property, as well as to the making of wills, a twenty-seventh of the harvest being given for church maintenance. The peasants were very industrious and were contented to till their rich farmlands. Early marriages tended to suppress immorality and illegitimate children were almost unknown. The community assisted in starting each young couple down the trail of life. Their land was broken for them, their home was built, and for the first year all the necessaries of life were furnished. The bride brought her dowry of sheep or cattle. The people were free from taxes. The rivers and bay gave them fish in plenty and the forests yielded partridge, deer and moose, as well as furbearers.

They learned to hunt in winter, on snowshoes, and in the spring made sugar from the sap of the maples.

The Indians were ever friendly, though years of association with the white man and his rum were beginning to have effect. The Micmac was no longer to be absolutely trusted and he preferred to let the French feed him in the slack seasons. Dierville, a Frenchman who visited Acadia, was much impressed by the Micmac customs and left records of their habits. The Indians grew their own tobacco, a small-sized plant of tender growth. Their pipes were precious to them, and were made of red or green stone and lobster claw. The rube was worked with care and decorated with porcupine quills. They had great skill in dressing furs to softness, in framing their birch canoes with pieces of elastic wood. The Micmac women chewed the gum of fir trees daily until it became an unguent which was applied with fire along the canoe seams to make them water tight. The canoe sails were made of young moose skins. Moose bones were pounded into a powder and boiled. The fat was skimmed from the fire, coming white as snow and firm as wax. This substance was called "Cacamo," and was highly prized as a ration when on long marches. Their dishes were made of bark, sewn with roots of fir. Dierville, with other historians, says that the Micmacs must have long been a thinking and civilized people as their language was musical and refined, their behaviour above reproach. The chiefs were appointed by ballot, and wore wildcat skins on the arm to signify their office. Long deerskin hose came to their waist like Irish trousers. The boys went naked in summer until they were ten years old, but the girls were frocked from infancy.

Their large blanket-shaped coats of beaver skins were only for special occasions. They were hung from the shoulders and fastened across the breast with two thongs. The part behind the neck was laid in rolls or set up hollow with a cope. Fringes an inch or two inches in length ran up and down the front. Like other writers, this Frenchman was very much interested in the mode of Indian burial and could not understand their habit of burying so many useful utensils and weapons with the corpse. Denys relates that he saw one thousand francs worth of furs buried in one grave. He expostulated with the red men over this waste and some time later induced them to uncover the grave and see the furs decomposing. The savages were unmoved at this, however, and only grunted: "Skin—him die, too." Dierville, mentioning the Micmac burials, says:

"When the poor Indian pays the debt we all to nature owe,
In proof of friendship and regret most generous offerings flow.
For in his grave they place a store of things he may have need,
In that long journey to the shore imagined in their creed.
A living dog, a hatchet, gun, corn, pipes, tobacco too,
A kettle, powder, ball, and one new blanket and canoe."

In the spring of 1696 the French of Quebec, assisted by their Indian allies, made a murderous raid on New England homes at Haverhill, Mass. This foreshadowed the first signs of strife at Beaubassin. Hitherto, through all the troublesome times in other parts of Acadia, the farmers of Chignecto had been out of the path of rivalry, and the only

guns to echo over the basin were the muskets of moose hunters. The New Englanders were enraged at cruelties they suffered and craved revenge in any possible way. They found their weapon in Captain Ben Church, an Indian fighter of renown, and on the 25th of August, 1696, he left Boston with a force of 150 rangers and fifty Indians. They embarked in open sloops and whale boats and their intentions were to ravage all Acadian settlements. As fate would have it they came direct to Beaubassin. The majority of the inhabitants when they saw the fleet of hostile craft come in to anchor fled to the forest, but Bourgeois put out in his boat to ask Church their intentions, showing him the document Phipps had given him. Church, on seeing the written assurance of English protection, ordered his men not to molest the village and told Bourgeois to recall the Acadians. He did so, and at once the soldier commanded them to assist his force in pursuit of the Micmacs. This the people of Beaubassin refused to do, as the red natives had been their best friends. Bourgeois ordered the best of the sheep and cattle killed and feasted the invaders in great style in an effort to hold their favour. But an order, referring to trade at Baie Verte, was discovered in the chapel by some of the soldiers and they at once set fire to the building. Church made no effort to check them and the men tore down dykes and fences, burned several houses and destroyed much property. Charlevoix, in his account, says: "Bourgeois produced a proclamation of Sir William Phipps, in which assurance of protection was given to the inhabitants so long as they remained faithful subjects to King William, and that Church being made acquainted with it, had ordered their

property to be respected; but that he and his officers while being entertained by Bourgeois, the soldiers, who were dispersed among the inhabitants, conducted themselves as if they had been in a conquered country." He adds: "Many of the people, distrusting his promises, refused to surrender, and it was fortunate they did so, for an order of Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, having been soon afterward discovered posted up in the chapel, the English treated them as rebels—set fire to the church and reduced to ashes the few houses they had previously spared." After nine days Church drew up a new allegiance to King William and made Bourgeois and others sign it; he then re-embarked and sailed for St. John. In his records Church himself admits that he made prisoners of the people of Beaubassin and that their "Cattle, sheep, hogs and dogs were lying dead about their houses, chopped and hacked with hatchets," though he claims it was done without orders from him. These peace-loving farmers were thus deprived of their homes and their stock, wantonly destroyed on account of crimes committed by those in Quebec. Small wonder that de Villieu was burned with undying hate when he learned the news.

The Beaubassin folk emerged from the forest as soon as Church had gone and at once applied themselves to getting homes prepared for the winter. They were not discouraged and took their misfortune as one of the many evils attendant to war. Villebon made a visit to Beaubassin in 1699, and wrote: "Beaubassin has need of a priest. There are in this country very curious plants which the Indians make good use of in ailments. They feed themselves and have a surplus to sell. Hemp and

flax prosper. Some use no cloth but homespuns. The wool is good. Fruit, pulse and garden stuff are excellent. Provisions cheap; wheat forty sous a bushel of forty-one and a half pounds, beef two sous a pound, cattle forty livres, sheep seven livres; mutton three sous a pound; lard two sous a pound, eggs five sous a dozen, partridge and hares four sous; game plenty."

In 1703 Beaubassin suffered many ills. Villieu, acting for La Vallière, oppressed the farmers of Beaubassin for rentals. The La Vallières had done little or nothing to assist the colony and feelings ran high. De Villieu also ordered that one hundred ecus be granted yearly to the curé of the village. There were more Indian and French atrocities at Deerfield, Mass., and the New Englanders were also harassed by a pirate band said to have their headquarters at La Have in Acadia. The Massachusetts authorities commanded Ben Church to take another expedition to the province and subdue every colony. His instructions were "to have prayers on ship daily, to sanctify the Sabbath, and to forbid all profane swearing and drunkenness." The next article bade him burn, plunder, destroy and get spoil wherever he could effect a landing. These Puritan fathers also offered a bounty of one hundred pounds for each male Indian over twelve years of age, if scalped; one hundred and five pounds if taken prisoner; fifty pounds for each woman and child scalped, and fifty pounds if brought in alive. Once again Church steered for hapless Beaubassin. The people saw him coming and fled to the forests, this time halting long enough to take their most prized possessions. Church tarried for three days in the locality, but could not catch a single prisoner.

However, his men burned twenty houses and killed one hundred and twenty horned cattle. Then the bold captain sailed back to Boston and received the thanks of the legislature for his services. This second outrage on an innocent people lingered long in their memory. No doubt stories of the English who came to devastate were handed down to succeeding generations and accounted for the ill-feeling that was so easily fostered fifty years later. Ben Church ended his career ten years later by a fall from horseback.

The first time an inhabitant of Beaubassin was accused of wrong doing was in 1708 when Abraham Godet and two English sailor deserters captured the missionary of Port Royal in order to redress a fancied wrong. Colonel Vetch was in command at Port Royal and though he paid the three kidnappers the ransom they demanded, of ten ecus each, he sent Father Justinien, a Recollect Priest, to Boston as a prisoner in retaliation, making a pretext for his detention. Felix Pain, a Recollect missionary, was stationed at Beaubassin and he began the first work of insinuating against the English, work that bore fruits in after years and ended in the expulsion of the Acadians.

III—BEAUBASSIN PROSPERS

AFTER THE last raid of Ben Church, Beaubassin thrived amazingly. Fishermen from St. Malo had established a fishing station at Baie Verte in 1619, and were there in more or less numbers every season. The Acadians used the Micmac water route across the Isthmus more and more to trade with vessels that anchored at the fishing station. Soon a few settled there and a brisk trade with Quebec and Louisburg sprang into existence. The fur buyers from Quebec came to buy from the French trappers and Indians, and Louisburg officials came to purchase provisions for the garrison. They paid in gold for grain and cattle and their demands were heavy. The settlers at Minas soon began to ship their stock and produce up the Bay to Chignecto and there tranship it over to Baie Verte. As the sons married, they received their share of tilled and untilled land, but after a generation new locations were needed to keep up with the increasing population, and so little villages sprang up at every vantage in the Chignecto area. Several families settled at Buhot's Point, three went over to the dominating promontory in the marshes. The leader of the trio was named Beausejour, and so his establishment was known as "Butte à Beausejour." The other families' surnames were Mirande and Charles. The Micmac encampments on the Amherst ridge were deserted, as the tribe moved to Port Royal at the time of the

great plague in 1694 which swept off nearly one half of the redskins of Maine and New Brunswick. The chief of the St. John Indians, a very noted warrior, was a victim, and one hundred died in a single village at Medoctec. This dread death was similar to the Egyptian plague. Persons in seemingly good health commenced to bleed at the nose and mouth and turned blue in spots. They died within three or four hours, and the disease seemed worse in cold weather. On the deserted grounds the Acadians built log homes and soon three villages marked the ridge, "Ville La Butte," "La Planche," and "Wehekage." The river there was renamed "La Planche," on account of the fact that the French had a great plank which they used as a foot bridge at low tide. Lord Caufield made a tour of Acadia in 1715 and after his visit to Chignecto wrote to the Board of Trade: "A low-lying country used mostly for raising black and white cattle. Were, in our necessity, supplied with about seventy barrels of extraordinary good beef. The greatest resort for the Penobscot and St. John Indians, who barter to the French great quantities of fur and feathers for provisions. They have oxen and cows about 1,000, sheep about 100, hogs about 800; corn to support their families (about fifty) computed at 6,000 bushels."

As the years passed, more lands were cleared. Orchards were increased. Boats began to put in often at the Basin and over all reigned a prosperity the peasants of Europe never knew. The children sang gaily under the apple trees and their merry shouts echoed over the fields as they clapped hands to frighten the wild pigeons from the crops. The booming note of the huge sea shells called the men

from their haying on the marshes to their noontide meal. Bricks were burned from the marsh clay, and a tannery dressed leather for footwear and other purposes. A handsome chapel replaced the one Church's men had burned and a stone mill ground their wheat and corn. Pictures have been given us by the pens of early writers, pictures that describe in part the homes of these contented farmers. They tell of the great flocks of geese and ducks that swam in the low ponds, of the droves of pigs that wallowed in the rich black mud on the border of the marshes and at autumn fattened in the beechnut groves. Fish and game were staple foodstuffs, baked shad and hot barley cakes a favourite meal. Their cakes were generally powdered with maple sugar, which the Indians loved to beg from them, and the cider barrel stood in the kitchen or outhouse. The wood of the interior of the home was usually rubbed to a bright polish by many homespun backs leaned there on jovial evenings. From the low ceilings draped strings of quartered apples drying, bunches of herbs, onions and beans. Rough crockery shone from dresser shelves and the logs crackled in the huge fireplace. The Indians taught them the secret of the maples, the way to snare moose and trap the beaver, and how to spear the salmon after nightfall by the lure of pitch-pine torches.

This prosperity of the Acadians was uninterrupted until 1740 when companies of soldiers and Micmacs in war paint began to make the pretty village by the marshes their common rendezvous. At that time branching families had settled at "Wehekauk," (Westcock) "Le Lac," "Jolicure," "Tantramar," (Sackville), "Pré Du Bourge" (middle Sackville), "Makan," "Napan," "River des Herbert" and

"Menoudie." The marks of the last raid of Ben Church had scarce been erased when Governor Nicholson sent Messrs. Capoon and Button by sloop to Chignecto to proclaim King George as sovereign and Beaubassin as an English possession according to the Treaty of Utrecht. These agents bore orders to administer the oath of allegiance to the Acadians, but the peasants remembered the injustices they had suffered under so-called British protection and they refused to bind themselves as British subjects. There is little doubt that Father Felix was behind their objections, and so insidious was his urging that four years later we find Colonel Phillips writing to Secretary Craggs about the underhanded work of the priests. He captured a letter from one of their messengers, and wrote: "The paper which I have the honour to enclose was sent from Annapolis and serves to show the practices of the priests and Jesuits in the province. It is the original and though fathered on the Indians is known to be the handwriting of Père Vincent, a Jesuit, who, with one Père Felix, both inveterate enemies to the British interests, preside as governors over the two largest settlements in Nova Scotia, called Minas and Chignecto. . . . The French . . . . pay obedience to them as such, as they say they acknowledge no other and will neither swear allegiance nor leave the country when required."

Nevertheless the people of Beaubassin paid their small tax or tithe yearly to the Governor of Annapolis, and they enjoyed all the rights and privileges granted the more tractable of the province. In the spring of 1720 the Chignecto farmers suffered a shortage of seed wheat, and so the authorities

arranged a shipment of fifty hogsheads of the needed grain from Minas. At the same time the governor wrote to Beaubassin offering, if they would become British subjects, the free exercise of their religion, with their estates ensured to them and posterity, and all their civil rights. He got no direct answer and matters were not improved. The people enjoyed the placid tenor of their ways and had implicit faith in their priest. Mascarene, Governor of Nova Scotia, after investigating conditions at Chignecto in 1721, wrote: "There is much grain and more cattle at Chignecto than anywhere else. There are very good coal mines there of easy access, but shelter is wanting for vessels, which have to anchor in the open bay. Near the town itself, which lies four leagues beyond the coal mines, there is a small island, which has a good quarry of soft stone. It cuts in layers of four to six inches thick and hardens soon after it is cut. The inhabitants trade with Cape Breton. A small fort could be built on the neck held with a garrison of 150 men." This was the first suggestion of a fortress on the Isthmus. Thereafter many recognized the advantage of a stronghold on the dominating Beausejour ridge, and before the century ended three grim forts ranged that narrow neck of land and a strong blockhouse occupied Buhot's Point.

Disquieting rumours began to drift into Beaubassin, tales of Micmac battles with English soldiery, harrowing accounts of burning settlers' homes at midnight, and lurid reprisals of aroused New Englanders. Bloody ambuscades were not unusual in the southern part of Acadia and more and more came tidings of English intent to oust the French farmers from their rich holdings. The Acadians

were a peace-loving people and were partly bewildered by events. Not knowing any other course and accustomed from infancy to accept the counsel of their priest without question, sombre apprehensions began to haunt their lives. In June, 1724, thirty Malicites from New Brunswick came by canoe to the mysterious lonely island at the headwaters of Fundy, "Isle Haut." There they met with fifty Micmacs arrayed in war paint. A feast of dog flesh was eaten to give them courage for battle and the war dance was held. After these rites, the party embarked with the intention of capturing Annapolis. They intended landing at Minas and going overland, but two English vessels anchored there caused them to change their course. When they finally appeared before the Annapolis fort the garrison underestimated the strength of the redmen and sent out a small party to drive them away. The Indians repulsed the party, killing and scalping a sergeant and private, and wounding four others. The garrison had captured an Indian some time before. In revenge for the death of the sergeant they forced their captive to the spot where the Englishman had fallen and there slew the helpless redskin. After the attackers departed the English investigated and found that both Father Charlemagne, of Minas, and Felix, of Chignecto, knew of the intended invasion of the Indians and purposely withheld information. The Minas priest was placed under arrest and sent to Louisburg.

Governor Armstrong determined to force the Beaubassin inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance. He sent his officials there with grim messages, and when the people withheld their pledge an order was posted that no trading vessels should

be allowed in Chignecto Basin. The farmers were more or less dependent on the visiting ships as a market for their furs and produce, but they would not yield. Then an ensign, named Wroth, came with a company of soldiers. He proclaimed King George the Second as the rightful sovereign and administered the oath. But in order to carry out his mission without trouble, he made such concessions and changes in the oath that the Council regarded his work as dishonourable. He was recalled and all his proceedings declared null and void. The Council, however, removed the embargo on trading and tried to get the Acadians to take the oath as it should read. Once more they met united resistance.

And Governor Armstrong wrote to the Duke of Newcastle: "I am sorry this province should be in such a poor condition as it is really in, after having been so long as upwards of the twenty-one years (Which may be said imaginary only) under the English Government, for the inhabitants here being all French and Roman Catholics, are more subject to our neighbours of Cape Breton and Quebec than to His Majesty, whose government by all their proceedings (notwithstanding their oath of fidelity) they seem to despise, being entirely governed by their most insolent priests, who, for the most part come and go at pleasure, pretending for their sanction the Treaty of Utrecht, without taking the least notice of this government, in spite of all the endeavours used to the contrary. I must also inform Your Grace that the Indians are employed in the affair, and use for an argument that although the English conquered Annapolis, they never did Minas, and other parts of the Province, and in

consequence of such arguments instilled into them, they have actually robbed the gentlemen of the Colliery by Chickenectua, destroying their houses and magazine built there, through pretense of rent due them for the land and the liberty of digging; being advised, as I am informed, by Governor St. Ovid, that if they permit such designs of the English to succeed, that the Province will be entirely lost."

Matters remained unchanged until 1729 when Governor Phillips came. He spent considerable time in the Chignecto settlements and asked the people to consider all that the English had borne from them, and the freedom that had been allowed them by the Council. He then put the oath of allegiance in a slightly altered form, and one by one the farmers came and signed the paper. Such success attended Phillips that in November of the following year he wrote to the Lords of Trade that it needed "not more than five or six scattered families on the eastern coast to complete submission of the whole province." This message was the most hopeful of any that had gone to England, and it was not until some years later that the Lords of Trade discovered they had in a measure been deceived. Phillips had inserted a clause in the oath that relieved the Acadians from bearing arms in support of the British at any time. The Council were rather surprised at the quick change of heart of these heretofore troublesome folk, but they at once accepted the situation and appointed agents to collect rents at Chignecto, as was done in other places.

Governor Phillips had tried other means to get the Acadians to submit before he inserted the clause regarding arms. In his first attempt to control

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Chignecto he had been an advocate of stern measures. Father Ignace, a Flemish priest, was appointed to minister to the people of Beaubassin "in hope of routing out Felix," the account reads, but the results were not satisfactory, as Felix continued his ministrations. Then Governor Armstrong had written to the Duke of Newcastle, asking for sixty Indians from New England, with twelve whale boats, and troops to assist him in humbling "villainous French inhabitants." He intended to land at Chignecto and march across the Isthmus to Baie Verte. His plea for force was not granted.

Phillips seemed to gain the confidence of the Acadians more than any of his predecessors had done. Peace and prosperity ruled at Beaubassin. In fields, fresh and green in the sunlight, great flocks of sheep nibbled daintily in luxurious feeding. Thriving herds of swine wallowed in the cooling marsh mud. Ducks and geese clamoured noisily from their feeding ponds. Wild flowers spangled the slopes. In the orchards feathered songsters sang shrill chorus to the humming undertone of Nature's organist. Blue smoke spirals eddied lazily from the huge chimneys in thatched roofs of whitewashed cottages and sweet odours drifted from the deep low barns filled with the first fruits of autumn. Women gossiped gaily from their gardens and their chatter was not quelled at the sight of a Micmac party filing from the forest. The Indians came often to drink buttermilk and cider while they exchanged choice venison for the wheaten loaves of the French. On March 31st, 1731, orders were posted in public places establishing the value of French money at eight shillings an ounce, and declaring the province bills of New England to be current. This quickened

trade to a large extent, but further orders stated that no merchant vessel was to take off more than two months' provisions, nor were the people of Beaubassin to export beasts or cattle. The penalty for disobedience was to be a fine of fifty pistoles. New England learned of the friendliness at Chignecto and applied to the Provincial Council for the grant of the coal mine that lay near the settlement. The application of the Boston merchants was favourably received, but there is no record of them taking coal. In 1735 an experienced government engineer came from France to Beaubassin and instructed the people in better means of dyking the marshes. Under his directions great areas were reclaimed from the sea at Menoudie and Napan. This engineer, named Gould, settled at Napan, and with his son, François, cleared a home in the virgin forest. This man was the forefather of the Goulds of the Chignecto district and it is said he was one of the few Acadians who took the oath of allegiance and that he wore a feather in his cap to denote his loyalty. With Gould came a German, named Noiles, and this fellow settled some distance up the Napan River at what is known as "Upper Napan," to-day. The cellar and well of his old homestead can still be found. Noiles was the forefather of a numerous race, but he himself was never on good terms with the Indians. They tried to ambush him as he left the Acadian settlement of Wehekage one afternoon. His horse outraced the savages, but Noiles fell from his mount as they crossed a gully and broke his neck.

O'Neal, an Irishman, made his appearance at Beaubassin and induced the Council to grant him one hundred acres of La Vallière's Isle. None of

Vallière's agents or heirs had been near the holding for years and it was easily reclaimed. The official grant was given May 4th, 1737, and so pleased was the Council with the appearance of the new-comer that they appointed him notary and receiver of the King's rents and dues. In a very short time trouble began. The Acadians did not take kindly to this alien in their midst, and in a letter dated November 4th, O'Neal complained that his house had been entered, his rooms "forced open, his wife being beat, the keys of his chest taken from him as well as his papers, among which were contracts and promissory notes." At this news the Council decided that all was not well under O'Neal's ruling, and Peter Bergereau, an inhabitant of repute, was appointed in the Irishman's stead. Later the governor directed inquiries regarding the disturbance on the "island," but nothing came of it.

Another disturber was now at work at Chignecto, one, St. Poncy, who cordially hated everything English. The Council soon discovered his aims and he was warned to govern his tongue. At length he applied for a passport to leave the province and his request was cheerfully granted, with the information that he must leave inside of three months. This seemed to stir M. St. Poncy to refusal and he delayed his departure until Mascarene, who had become governor, forbade him priestly functions and urged him to go elsewhere. In September, 1740, the Council advised Mascarene that St. Poncy was an agent of Louisburg, was deliberately prejudicing the Acadians against the English and should be deported. Orders were at once sent to Chignecto that St. Poncy should not be allowed to officiate there. Mascarene sent the proclamation to Bergereau,

who was still holding his position as notary and receiver of rents. The seigneural rents were then amounting to fifteen pounds sterling for Beaubassin. The people at once petitioned that St. Poncy be allowed to serve them, as their own parish priest was too old for duty and had been superannuated. This petition was refused. Now came the turn in events that settled the fate of the Acadians. The Abbé La Loutre came to Chignecto.

IV—ABBÉ LA LOUTRE, THE BLACK PRIEST

THE SOCIETY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS sent this priest to Canada in 1737, and he settled with the Micmacs at Shubenacadie. This missionary was fired with an almost fanatical hatred for the English and was by far the most determined enemy to British power that ever came to Acadia. Instead of confining his efforts to mission work among the Micmacs, he became an effective emissary and correspondent of the French government at Quebec. Large sums of money, firearms, ammunition and other supplies were furnished him for aid in his work among the redskins. He chose Chignecto as his principal residence because from there he could easily communicate with the other Acadian colonies and at the same time keep in touch with Quebec and Louisburg. He was created Vicar-General of Acadia and thus held influence over the priests of Acadia whom he used as his agents wherever possible. He continued his course of murdering English settlers and driving the hapless Acadians to his bidding until armed forces overpowered the French hold on Acadia, expelled the peaceful farmers to the four winds, and placed the chief author of it all a prisoner on the Island of Jersey.

Mascarene first wrote to La Loutre in a very courteous manner and welcomed him to the province. The crops failed at Annapolis and the

governor asked Bergereau to remit the yearly dues in grain and peas instead of gold. This was done, but English coin seemed to lose circulation once it was in French hands. It is supposed that the Acadians had been told that one day they should be compelled to leave their holdings and they were saving the money for that time. This rumour of their deportation gained strength when Pierre Alain, of Beaubassin, asked for a mill site on the Napan River and was refused, with the information that no new grants would be made until things were more settled. La Loutre soon made known his ambitions. In June, 1744, he appeared before the walls of the fort at Annapolis with three hundred savages in war paint and demanded immediate surrender. He stated that reinforcements were daily expected from Louisburg and once his red men had tasted blood he could not restrain them. Mascarene, however, was a very courageous man and though his fort was in poor shape for defence he refused to submit and put up such a brave front that La Loutre's Indians gave up the siege and went to Minas where they contented themselves with burning the homes of a few English settlers and stealing their cattle. Thus had the missionary shown his hand.

The Governor knew that La Loutre had visited at Chignecto and he wrote a stern letter to the inhabitants.

"Deputies of Chignecto: I send you these lines to inform you that I am in a position to execute what I have so often said would happen to you if you failed in the allegiance you owe his Britannic Majesty. If you wish, therefore, to avoid the danger which threatens you, do as the other departments have done—send your deputies, give an account of your

conduct, and show the submission to which your oath of allegiance to the Government of the King of Great Britain binds you. In that case you shall still have in me a friend and servant.

"P. Mascarene."

La Loutre had had a partial excuse for his attack on Annapolis. In March, 1744, France had declared war on England and the news had reached Boston in June. La Loutre had got word in some manner and meant to strike while the iron was hot. But his very eagerness resulted in failure. Had he waited a few weeks the fort must have fallen. M. Du Quesnal, the Governor of Cape Breton, got word of war by a fast sailing vessel dispatched for the purpose. But he also received, by that same ship, orders not to attack any post in Acadia until he had received instructions. This message was a severe disappointment to Du Quesnel. He knew that the English forts at Canso and Annapolis were poorly garrisoned and in no condition to stand a siege. Why not capture them? His superiors had intimated that such actions might cause the New Englanders to retaliate by an attack on Louisburg, and that stronghold was not finished or equipped for battle. Nevertheless the Governor could not resist seizing the opportunity and determined to strike a sudden blow, trusting that the brilliant victory which he was sure would result, would offset any charges of disobedience. He entrusted the work to an officer named Du Vivier, placing him in command of two hundred and fifty men. They first struck Canso, assisted there by two hundred Indians, and after a short siege captured the fort and burned it to the ground.

Then Du Vivier, elated by his success, set sail for Annapolis. La Loutre and his Indians had just left. Mascarene had sent a vessel to Boston for aid. Four companies of soldiers arrived and forty cannon were mounted in place. Du Vivier offered four hundred livres to every Indian who would mount the rampart in his attack, but he had no greater success than the priest. His force was easily discouraged by the determined resistance, and after four weeks' siege they departed.

His men were moved to Minas, but the inhabitants refused to feed them, as they wished to remain on good terms with the English. Part of his force went to Beaubassin. The people there were more friendly than those of Minas, but were very uneasy at having the soldiers in their midst, and soon prevailed on them to depart.

The year 1745 saw changes at Chignecto. Parties of armed bushrangers and feathered redskins were constantly coming and going, and the younger men of the settlement often accompanied them as guides to Minas or other points. Mascarene heard many tales of the treachery of the village, but he was lenient and still kindly. In June he ordered the Chignecto deputies, Jean Terriot and Jean Portier, to appear before the Council. They were told to learn which inhabitants were assisting the enemy and to report them; to return to owners any effects of British settlers seized and cached there, and not allow any persons to reside there but those who by their oath of fidelity, taken by themselves or their fathers, were British subjects, and to use all means to make one agitator, M. Dugay, quit the country. They promised to obey all these orders.

In October La Loutre arrived from Quebec, after

a visit with authorities there, via Baie Verte, bringing with him many presents for his Micmacs. Mascarene heard of this and summoned his deputies on the 4th of November. They said that La Loutre had lodged at Beaubassin, staying at the Glebe house, had said Mass and all the people attended. Mascarene chided them for such disobedience to his rules and they replied that they had long been without a regular priest and wished permission to get one from Upper Canada. This the Council denied them. The deputies disclaimed all knowledge of La Loutre's gifts to the Indians, but said the Micmacs had two barrels of powder, four bags of shot and a bale of blankets. Mascarene told them to report to him every six weeks and not to allow either supplies or ammunition to land at Beaubassin that might be used by the enemy, to find out and give advice of stores left by La Loutre, and in whose keeping, and finally not to allow any among them who had not taken the oath of allegiance. The deputies made their usual promises of good behaviour, but nothing was heard from them, and the Governor wrote to Terriot saying: "I think you might have acquainted me with the quantity of ammunition and presents that La Loutre and that shallop brought for the Indians."

It will be seen that Paul Mascarene was doing all in his power to keep on good terms with Beaubassin. In return his orders were never obeyed in full and a certain measure of deceit was employed by the Chignecto deputies. La Loutre stayed in the village whenever he so minded and openly flouted English power. He hounded Beaubassin with threats of his Micmacs if they did not do his bidding, stated that the river Missiquash was the real Acadian

boundary and ordered all the inhabitants to move to the Beausejour ridge. This the people refused to do. They had lived on their farms for a generation, were very comfortable and prosperous, and saw no reason for impoverishing themselves over trivial details. The Indians had grown very haughty in their demeanour toward the people and obeyed La Loutre only. Even with him they held a certain independence and he complains that they were from December 27th to March 28th carrying messages to Quebec. Meanwhile some English scouts had captured letters of the French authorities, dated September 12th at Quebec, saying: "We have held council with the deputies of La Loutre's villages. The attachment of the Indians may be depended on. We send by sea as far as Miramichi, 4,000 pounds of powder and lead, in proportion, and some cloth to cover them. We made up the deficiency with 2,000 li in specie, which we have entrusted to La Loutre for the purpose of relieving their more urgent needs."

Another dispatch read: "21st September, M. Loutre left with his Indians. He is to go to River St. John to Beaubassin, and thence to his mission. He was furnished with signals to communicate with any French men-of-war on east coast of Acadia.

"Micmacs belonging to M.Loutre's mission	200
Isle Royale, under M. Mailliard	80
Miramichi, under La Corne	195
Restigouche, under L'estage	60
	535."

In 1746 Beaubassin could be rightly called a military post. A distinguished French officer,

Chevalier La Corne, son of the Town Major of Quebec, came on an official visit, and selected the Beausejour ridge as an ideal site for a fort. Mascarene heard of his visit and complained to his deputies for not giving him warning of the officer, and of withholding other important news. In May three hundred Abenaquis Indians were equipped for battle by the French and sent to St. Michel near Quebec. They came to Beaubassin in bark canoes, via the St. John River, arriving June twenty-first. They were under the command of Lieut. St. Pierre. Marin, another French officer, had already arrived on June seventeenth via Baie Verte, with a band of Micmacs. M. Ramezay, with a company of three hundred French regulars, was next on the scene, and this officer was in charge of the whole force. The inhabitants made no comment on this occupation and withheld all word from Annapolis, but their handling silver French coin told its own story. A French frigate, *L'Aurore*, with La Loutre on board, chased and captured three small English vessels laden with cattle and provisions. The priest was given his share of the plunder for his Indians. In July La Loutre wrote to Ramezay and proposed that they capture Port Royal. Ramezay agreed and sent munitions and supplies on to Minas and asked Quebec for mortars and shells. He got answer that La Loutre was too headlong and that they should await orders. The attack was cancelled. In August a brigantine from Quebec landed munitions, arms and supplies at Baie Verte.

An idea of the amounts sent La Loutre at different times may be gathered from an invoice of M. Bigot to the missionary. This document was

found on a captured French vessel and is authentic. The list reads: "9 bales of clothing, 2 hds clothing, swanskin, table cloth, white linen shirts, cloaks with gold and silver lace, ribbons, etc., 12 laced men's cloaks, 3,000 sewing needles, 200 awls, 200 gun screws, 30 lbs. vermilion, 200 butcher knives, 12 children's cloaks, 100 guns, 150 triggers, staples, etc. 1 bbl. containing 3,000 gun flints, 20 quintals of leaden shot, 30 quintals of ball. 2,000 lbs. of powder, 100 copper kettles, 85 green seal skins, 1 hhd. molasses, 2 hhds. wine, 60 quintals bacon, salt, 418 lbs. hogs' lard, 16 veltes brandy, 471 quintals flour."

Ramezay's force was quartered at Beaubassin for the winter. In late December a message came from Minas saying that an English detachment was quartered at Grand Pré in a careless fashion. Ramezay at once saw an opportunity of surprise attack and asked the assistance of the people in outfitting his men with wicker sleighs and snow-shoes. He received an abundant supply for a party of 240 rangers and sixty Indians. Being unable to accompany the force himself Ramezay gave the command to De Villers, a courageous officer who afterwards fought against George Washington at Fort Necessity. The party was eighteen days making the journey, winding their way through the snow-mantled forests, dragging their provisions and bedding on the sleighs, bivouacking at night under the stars around great fires that showered sparks high above the dark evergreens. A snowstorm hid their final advance and the British were completely surprised. Their colonel fell fighting in his night clothes and seventy-four men and officers fell with him. The rest surrendered. The French lost

only seven killed and fourteen wounded, but De Villers was among the latter.

This expedition from Beaubassin stamped the settlement as a dangerous ally of the enemy, but Mascarene still sought to win the inhabitants. They pointed out that they were helpless to follow any other course than feed the soldiers billeted among them. In answer the Governor wrote them that he would drive out intruders and defend the province with vessels and troops. All was quiet around Chignecto for a time, as the soldiers moved elsewhere, but the following year saw Lieut. Marin back with forty French regulars. He skirmished about for a time, but the only damage resulting was the burning of some firewood belonging to the fort at Minas and the capture of a few non-combatants. The Governor and Council were dismayed by the news of the "Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle," which gave the mighty fortress of Louisburg, so dearly won, back to its original builders. Yet they were not discouraged, and when Cornwallis became governor he decided to deal strictly with Chignecto, but give the people a chance to redeem themselves. He had no wish to drive the Acadians from the country, as the different English garrisons were more or less dependent on the French farmers for supplies. The Governor was hampered by the law that all unoccupied lands should be reserved for English settlers. The French were increasing rapidly, and he knew they were gradually extending their domains. His chief annoyance was that the Acadians buried their gold after receiving it for produce, preparing charts and plans of their hiding places and so providing for the day when they should be forced to leave the country. He issued a declaration to "French sub-

jects of His Majesty, King George, inhabiting Nova Scotia."

"I do hereby declare in His Majesty's name, that His Majesty, although fully sensible that the many indulgences which he and his royal predecessors have shown to the said inhabitants in allowing them the entirely free exercise of their religion, and the quiet and peaceable possession of their lands have not met with a dutiful return, but on the contrary divers of the said inhabitants have openly abetted or privately assisted His Majesty's enemies in their attempts by furnishing them with quarters, provisions and intelligence, and concealing their designs from His Majesty's Governor, insomuch that the enemy more than once appeared under the walls of Annapolis Royal before the garrison had any notice of their being within the province; yet His Majesty, being desirous of showing further marks of his royal grace in hopes to induce the inhabitants to become for the future true and loyal subjects, is graciously pleased to allow that the said inhabitants shall continue in the free exercise of their religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same, as also the peaceable possession of such as are under their cultivation; Provided, that the said inhabitants do, within three months from the date of this declaration, take the Oath of Allegiance appointed to be taken by the laws of Great Britain . . . and I do strictly charge and forbid all persons whatever, from possessing themselves of any cultivated land within the Province without a grant for the same under the seal of this Province; also that no person whatever do export out of this Province any corn or cattle without especial leave for that purpose."

On July 29th deputies from Chignecto, with others from the Acadian settlements, arrived in Halifax to ask permission to have priests and public exercise of their religion, but demanding an exemption from bearing arms should the Province be attacked. The Governor told them that they could all have priests if the said officials would take the oath of allegiance and secure permission from the Council to take charge. He then stated that all Acadians must take the oath by the 26th of October, and defend their country when called upon. The deputies then asked if they could sell their lands and leave the Province with their possessions. This the Governor forbid and stated that all who had not taken the oath by October 26th should forfeit all their possessions and rights. This was issued in a declaration on September 1st. On the 6th of that month the deputies came back with a document signed by over one thousand farmers stating, "inhabitants in general over whole extent of country have decided not to take oath." But they added all would take the oath if exempted from bearing arms. If they were not granted this one and all would leave the country. They pointed out that their oath had been taken by Phillips many years before and demanded to know when it had been annulled. The Governor's reply was plain and drastic:

"We have cause to be much astonished at your conduct. This is the third time you have come here, and you do nothing but repeat the same story. To-day you present us a letter signed by a thousand persons, in which you declare openly that you will be the subjects of His Britannic Majesty on such and such conditions. It appears to me you think

yourselves independent to any government, and you wish to treat with the King as if you were so.

"But you ought to know, that from the end of the year stipulated in the Treaty of Utrecht, for the evacuation of the country, those who chose to remain in the Province became at once the subjects of Great Britain. The Treaty declares them such; the King of France declares, in the Treaty, that all the French who shall remain in this Province shall be the subjects of his (British) Majesty.

"It would be contrary to common sense, also, to suppose that one can remain in a province, and possess houses and lands there, without being subject to the sovereign of that province. You deceive yourselves if you think you are at liberty to choose whether you will be subjects to the King or no. From the year 1714 that no longer depended upon you. From that moment you became subject to the laws of Great Britain . . . You ought to have taken the Oath of Allegiance to your King the moment you were required to do so. You tell me that General Phillips granted you the reservations you demand; and I tell you that the general who granted such reservations did not do his duty; and also, that this oath has never in the slightest degree lessened your obligations to act always as a subject ought to act.

"You allow yourself to be led astray by people who find it to their interest to lead you astray. They have made you imagine it is only your oath which binds you to the English. They deceive you. It is not the oath which a king administers to his subjects that makes them subjects. The oath supposes they are so already. The oath is nothing but a very sacred bond of fidelity of those

who take it. It is only out of pity to your situation, and to your inexperience in the affairs of government, that we condescend to reason with you; otherwise the question would not be reasoning, but commanding and being obeyed. . . ."

The Acadians could not be moved from their determination not to take the oath. As excuse they finally confessed an abject fear of La Loutre and his Micmac assistants, claiming that the priest had threatened to loose the redmen on the settlement if they took the oath of allegiance.

V—BOISHEBERT AND CAPTAIN COBB

AT THIS point a newcomer enters the Acadian arena, one who is destined to be an active participant in the making of Chignecto history, a French officer, Charles Boishebert. This fellow came to St. John with a force of thirty men and occupied a fort at Nerepis river. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts had been alarmed by the stand of the Acadians and the ceding of Louisburg to the French. He wrote the Secretary of State asking that the Isthmus of Chignecto be fortified. He stated that there was a hill on the marshes sixty feet high, half-a-mile long, a quarter of a mile in width, and the same distance from Chignecto Basin. On this a fortress should be erected, one capable of holding a garrison of twelve hundred men. In the Basin there should be stationed ships of a size that would carry twenty guns. Then five hundred families at least could be brought and settled on farm lands within shelter of the fort. Shirley wrote to the Duke of Bedford as follows: "The French are determined to obstruct British settlement in Nova Scotia as much as possible, especially in Minas and Chignecto, which are districts absolutely necessary to be secured, and the making of English settlements there will be no slight work, nor be held when effected without a regular fort strongly garrisoned between Bay Verte and Beaubassin, and I cannot but look upon the point

now in dispute—the boundary line—as what must finally determine the mastery of the continent between the French and English."

The priest, La Loutre, was very active at this period. Intercepted letters from Quebec proved that the leaders of the French cause relied on their missionaries to excite the Acadians and Micmacs against the English settlements. Twelve medals had been sent La Loutre for distribution among the Micmac chiefs who excelled in attacking the British. Orders were given for Acadian bushrangers to disguise themselves as Indians and mingle with the red warriors. It was proved by captured accounts that La Loutre paid one hundred livres for each English scalp. In less than two years he turned in an account of over eleven thousand livres for "expense and scalps." Probably La Loutre paid these sums in an effort to retaliate for moves made against him by Cornwallis. The following letter had been sent a daring officer of the crown which did much to support British rule:

"Captain Sylvanus Cobb:—

"Having certain information that La Loutre, a French priest at Chignecto, is the author of all the disturbances the Indians have made in this province, and that he directs and instructs them, and provides them from Canada with arms, ammunition, and everything necessary for their purpose—you are hereby ordered to apprehend the said priest La Loutre wherever he may be found, that he may answer the crime laid to his charge.

"As all the inhabitants of Chignecto, through his instigation, have harboured and assisted the Indians, and have never given the least intelligence to this government, you are hereby ordered to seize as many of the inhabitants as you can, or in case they quit their house at your approach, you are to seize and secure as many of their wives and children as you think proper, and deliver

them to the first English fort you shall come to, to remain as hostages of their better behaviour. You will likewise search their houses for papers, arms, or ammunition, and warlike stores of any kind, which you will take and destroy.

"Given under my hand and seal at Halifax, Jan. 13, 1749,

"E. CORNWALLIS."

Cobb was master of the sloop *York* and his pay was to be £22.10 shillings per month, while his vessel was insured for £350. He was to go to Boston and engage forty extra men who were to be armed and equipped so as to make his force up to the strength of one hundred muskets. They were then to go to Beaubassin and carry out orders. If La Loutre were arrested Cobb was to receive a bounty of £50 and £50 more was to be divided among the crew. An additional £10 was to be paid for every Indian scalp secured by the expedition. Cobb found trouble in getting adventurers to join him and placarded Boston with advertisements of his intentions. Cornwallis, disgusted with this move, cancelled the undertaking.

The Quebec authorities now insisted that the Acadians leave their lands and cross to French territory. They promised aid to all who would go to Cape Breton, Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) or Shepody, saying that each family would be sheltered and fed for three years. If they refused to move the Indians would be sent to destroy their holdings and maltreat their wives, while they would not have priests to minister to them. The more timid of the peasants began to make the journey and two thousand went out of the province in two years. Their sufferings were indescribable. Long accustomed to comfortable homes and pleasant

regular village life, they were totally unfit for their long pilgrimage and goal of brush shelters and half rations. At Cape Breton they suffered terribly from exposure to the weather, and at Isle St. Jean they were soon in worse condition than the savages, as their clothing was worn to tatters by their life in the bush and they could not obtain further supplies.

In July Cornwallis had sent a ship to St. John and there the English found Boishebert with his force augmented by one hundred and fifty Indians. The French flag was flying, and Boishebert displayed orders not to allow any English to land in that territory. Yet the British carried back to Halifax, at his own request, a Micmac chief who was desirous of renewing a treaty his tribe had made with the English some years before. Two English trading vessels while in Chignecto Basin were attacked by the Indians. ,A desperate fight ensued and three of the English were killed, but they repulsed the redmen and slew seven of them before they got away. The people of Beaubassin offered no assistance on either side and La Loutre was blamed for the incident. The savages next made a foray on the fort at Minas and succeeded in capturing an officer and eighteen men, whom they surprised outside the defences gathering wood. Eleven Acadians were in the Indian party when the attack was made, and a party of redcoats was immediately sent from Port Royal to apprehend these outlaws. They had fled to Beaubassin, however, and they carried with them three hapless Englishmen who had dared to settle at Minas. Beaubassin was not invaded and La Loutre continued his work. He now suggested that all the families of the village cross to the Beausejour ridge and there make their homes. The inhabi-

tants demurred at this, and the raging priest told them he would withhold the sacraments of the Church if they did not obey him.

La Corne now came back to Beaubassin in September, bringing with him a force of seventy regulars. With these he encamped on the Beausejour slope, so long regarded as a fort site, and began to establish a fortification. M. de Lery was the engineer in charge, and with him was Jacquet de Fiedmont, a noted artilleryman, who became famous at the capture of Quebec. Fort Beausejour, named after the farmer there, was long in construction. It was half in earthworks, half in palisades, with barracks, a storehouse and powder magazine. It had five bastions, which were eventually mounted with thirty-two small cannon, one mortar and eighteen eight pounders. The fort was built of stone embanked with sod, all strengthened by a palisaded ditch. The fort was commenced in 1750, but was not in proper shape for a siege as late as 1755 when it was conquered by the New Englanders. The Governor of Canada, M. De Lisle Jonquiere, wrote to France: "I gave orders to Sieur De St. Ours in a letter of November 8th to erect a stockade fort at the point of Beausejour with barracks, quarters for the officers and store for provisions. The fort to be built on the most advantageous point and as near as possible to the French inhabitants. On the 20th of August, 1751, I visited this fort and found the men at work on the platforms, digging the well and proceeding with the building, with the exception of the projected barracks."

M. De Vergor, a commandant at the Fort, in a letter addressed to the Minister dated November 17th, 1754, said: "The Fort at Point Beausejour is

pentangular, fairly regular, situated on the side of an eminence facing the françoise. The bastions at the time of my arrival were so to speak hardly begun, and the ditches were only made in certain places. My first care was to put this fort in a condition to prevent surprise. The garrison is composed of one hundred and twenty men of troops from Quebec and Louisburg, of twenty-one pieces of cannon of different calibre, and of one mortar. The garrison is not of sufficient strength to resist an attack or siege. At least three hundred men will be required."

There is a copy of a letter written by him on his arrival there on August 18th, 1754, to the Governor-General of Canada, in the Northcliffe Collection.

After stating that he had gone down to Fort Gasperaux and to Baie Verte, a report on which he promises later, he observes that he had passed by the new road between Fort Gasperaux and Baie Verte, and on to Beausejour by a most difficult road. The two forts lie at the extremities of the Isthmus between Baie Verte and Bay Françoise (Bay of Fundy). The country on the Bay of Fundy side somewhat resembles Flanders—full of dikes, plains, and creeks.

"The Fort of Beausejour is a fairly regular pentagon, the bastions of which are rather slow in finishing, the necessary labour being short owing to lack of food. The trenches have been begun in some places, but the curtains are extremely weak. The parade is much too small. The building that serves for the government stores is ready to fall to pieces and should be rebuilt. The guard house, which is on the left of the parade as you enter, is in a very bad condition. There is a small house roofed

with bark on the right, which serves as an office for the clerks.

"All the quarters, of officers and soldiers alike, are poorly built, in bad condition, very damp and rain comes in everywhere. The chimneys are no more than clay, plastered on scraps of wood, and are easily washed down by the too frequent rains. There is always danger of fire, which is the more serious in that there would be neither remedy nor escape. The main section of the new barracks, which is not yet finished, has only two fronts. It serves at present as quarters for the commandant and officers. The powder magazine is very badly placed, near the gate, and in no way protected against bombs. Another has been built which they say is very good. The walls are of no use. The water is thick and muddy and can never be made pure. They are obliged to go ten or twelve arpents from the fort for water.

"The level of the parade is a couple of feet higher than that of the buildings, which causes the dampness and leaves the mud wet. Finally the fort is dominated by an eminence rising directly opposite the gate. It should be changed. There are twenty-one cannon of different calibre in the fort, one mortar, ball and other things. There may be 160 men in the fort. The hospital is about two arpents away, and has only seven beds. The bakery, which has two ovens, recently remade, is a wretched building, and almost as far away. The labourers and employees are lodged outside the fort."

La Loutre was very busy in 1750. In January he took a party of Micmacs to Cobequid and at the church door, in the presence of the priest, forbade the inhabitants to cross the river Shubenacadie on pain

of death. Then, fearing even this threat might not be effective, he placed thirty of his red henchmen in the village as a guard of the peasant's actions. Cornwallis had occasion to send a messenger to the priest in charge, Gerard, and the Indians at once made him a prisoner and sent him to Chignecto. The Governor was very angry at this deed and sent one hundred soldiers to the place to oust the redskins. They fled before the English arrived, however, and the party had to be content with taking the priest and deputies back as prisoners; but they were released on taking the oath of allegiance. In April Acadian deputies arrived in Halifax and asked permission to leave the Province and take with them their possessions. Cornwallis addressed them at length: "I am not ignorant of the fact that since my arrival in this Province every means has been employed to alienate the hearts of the French subjects of his Britannic Majesty. I know that great advantages have been promised you elsewhere, and that you have been made to believe your religion was in danger. Threats have been resorted to in order to induce you to remove into French territory. The savages are made use of to molest you. The savages are to cut the throats of all who persist in remaining in their native country, attached to their own interests, and faithful to the government. By the manner in which this scheme has been carried out you will judge of the characters of the directors and of their designs. You will judge whether these deserve your confidence who sacrifice their own honour, the honour of their sovereign, of their nation, to lead you to your ruin. You know that certain officers and missionaries, who came from Canada to Chignecto last autumn, have been the

cause of all our troubles during the winter. Their entrance into this Province, and their stay here, are directly contrary to the treaties which exist between the two crowns. Their conduct has been horrible, without honour, probity, or conscience, and such as they dare not acknowledge themselves. They are doing everything by underhand dealings, and by means of the savages, whom they will disown in the end. It was these who induced the Indians of the River St. John to join with the Micmacs, the day after a solemn treaty. They induced the Micmacs to commence their outrages, and furnished them with everything for their war. Finally, since the peace, they have been engaged in intrigues and enterprises for which an honest man would have blushed even during the war. These same gentlemen are doing their best to cause you to leave the country and to transfer yourselves to French territory. They have endeavoured to give you very false ideas which you will not fail to declare to us. . . .

"After having passed the winter in the Province and commenced to prepare the lands in the spring, it is ridiculous to come and tell me that you will not sow, having resolved to withdraw. My friends, you must go and sow your lands in order that they may be left in that condition which they ought to be in at this season. Without that you will have no right to expect the least favour from the Government. When you have done your duty in this respect, I will give you a more precise reply to your request. In the meantime, as it is my determination to act always in good faith with you, and not to flatter you with vain hopes, I will now let you know my sentiments on two important articles. I

declare to you frankly that, according to our laws, nobody can possess lands or houses in the Province who shall refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King when required to do so. As to those who shall leave the Province, the order of no government permits them to take with them their effects. All their goods are confiscated to the King. I have just issued my orders to the effect that all shall be arrested and brought back who are found carrying off such effects."

The deputies were somewhat taken aback to find that the Governor held such views of La Loutre and his assistants. They saw the hopelessness of their case and went back to sow their lands as Cornwallis wished. At once the priest got busy and towards the last of May the harassed representatives of the Acadians again went to Halifax to renew their request. Cornwallis listened to them with a patience his Council did not condone. The Governor realized to the full the predicament of the French farmers. The following is a portion of his reply:

"My friends, the moment that you declared it your desire to leave and submit yourselves to another government, our determination was to hinder nobody from following what he imagined to be to his interest. We know that a forced service is worth nothing, and that a subject compelled to be so against his will is not far from being an enemy. We frankly confess, however, that your determination to leave gives us pain.

"We are well aware of your industry and your temperance, and that you are not addicted to any vice or debauchery. This Province is your country; you and your fathers have cultivated it; naturally you ought to enjoy the fruits of your labour. Such

was the design of the King, our master. You know that we have followed his orders. You know that we have done everything to secure to you not only the occupation of your lands, but the ownership of them for ever.

"We have given you, also, every possible assurance of the enjoyment of your religion. When we arrived here we expected that nothing would give you so much pleasure as the determination of his Majesty to settle this Province. Certainly nothing more advantageous to you could take place. You possess the only cultivated fields in the Province; they produce grain and nourish cattle sufficient for the whole colony. It is you who have had all the advantages for a long time. In short, we flattered ourselves that we could make you the happiest people in the world. . . . We know very well there are ill-disposed and mischievous persons among you who corrupt the others. Your inexperience and your ignorance of the affairs of the Government, and your habit of following the counsels of those who have not your real interests at heart, make it an easy matter to seduce you. In your petition you ask for a general leave. . . . In order to effect this we should have to notify all the commanders of His Majesty's ships and troops to allow every one to pass and repass, which would cause the greatest confusion. The Province would be open to all sorts of people, to strangers and even to savages. . . . The only manner in which you can withdraw from this Province is that all persons wishing to leave shall provide themselves with our own passport, and we declare that nothing shall prevent us from giving passports to all those

who ask for them, the moment that peace and tranquillity are established in the Province.

"In the present state of the Province we are surprised that you thought of asking for such leave. You know that the savages are assembled at Chignecto, furnished with everything and protected by a French detachment. You know you will have to pass these French detachments and savages, and that they compel the inhabitants who go there to take up arms. I am to presume you pay no attention to this. It is a demand I can by no means grant.

"As we are not ignorant of the bad consequences of those assemblies, where often the most honest people are led astray by some seditious persons, we positively forbid, for the future, all assemblies of the inhabitants, except for some important business, when they shall have the permission of the commander and when he or someone for him shall be present. I recommend you to remain quietly in your settlements, occupied about your own affairs, until we shall see the present disturbances settled."

To the reader it would seem that the Acadians were a very wilful people to resist such kindly pleading and advice. But we must remember there are two sides to every question. The Acadians were in the main a simple-minded folk who had from infancy depended on their priest for all their guidance. He made their wills, drew up their agreements, even arranged many of their bargainings. It was surely natural that at such a crisis they should still have open ears for his counsel, even if his methods were much harsher than usual. Again, these peasants had no assurance that the

English would remain masters of the Province. In that period the most of Canada was in French hands, the Indians were their active allies, and what showing would the Acadians get if after taking the oath of allegiance French soldiers should conquer the peninsula? A great many of the Acadians had already left the country, and had not experienced any difficulty in crossing the border.

The British ship *Trial* captured a French sloop in August and found on board a letter from La Loutre addressed to M. Bigot, at Quebec. The missive shows the power exercised by the priest and gives light on the conditions of the Acadians who had left their homes.

"I send you the ship, *London*. M. de Bonaventure is to write you by this opportunity to ask you for provisions, not being able to get any from Louisburg, for the subsistence of the refugee families. If the four vessels that you promised us had arrived, we would have sent some flour to Isle St. Jean, but for the present we cannot do so. We have a great many people to support, and in the autumn we shall have an increase of sixty families from Beaubassin, and the rivers which are beyond our claims, who have not sown at all in order to withdraw to our territories.

"The inhabitants of Cobequid are to decide as soon as they hear from France. They will make the number one hundred families. Perhaps we shall have some from Minas if they can escape. You see that we require provisions; and it would be exposing these families to perish, not to be in a condition to help them. . . . The Canabas, who were on the Chebucto road, have seized the letters of the English who were writing to Minas and

Port Royal. I will have them sent to you by the first courier.

"If all our savages were Frenchmen we should not be embarrassed, but the wretches get tired and will perhaps leave us in our greatest need. They are getting tired at not hearing from France, and it is very surprising there are no letters for us, although a vessel has arrived at Louisburg having three hundred soldiers on board. . . . We are waiting here only for news from France to decide our course."

VI—FORT LAWRENCE IS ESTABLISHED

MEANWHILE the English had decided on measures so long advocated by Shirley, to establish a fort on the Isthmus. On the 4th of April, 1750, Major Lawrence was detailed to take 400 men and go to Chignecto where he should erect a stockade fort. His force reached Minas by May 1st and moved by boat to Chignecto Basin. As they put in to shore, La Corne met Lawrence and told him that he could not be permitted to land on the Beausejour ridge, as that was French territory, pointing out that the Missiquash River was the boundary. Lawrence parleyed long over the matter, but was forced to accept La Corne's views. During their argument the tide went out and Lawrence was compelled to wait the return of the water before he could land on the English side—at Beaubassin. This interval La Loutre had seized as an opportunity to work his will with the farmers of Beaubassin who had hitherto resisted his inducements, and at the same time strike a blow at the plans of Lawrence. He summoned his Micmacs and ordered every family in the village to take all their movable possessions and cross the Missiquash. The fierce shouts of the fiery abbé, his band of savages ready for instant action, the presence of the ship-load of soldiers in the Basin, combined to awe the Acadians into dumb obedience. A heart-rending scene ensued. Down the winding trail that led to

the river moved a sad procession, the farmers with their wives and children, babes in arms and trembling age, all who were able, bearing burdens of all descriptions. Sheep in frightened flocks were hurried to the bridge. Ox carts laden with household furnishings creaked over the bridge timbers. Cattle were herded to the trail. Squealing pigs were hustled over the dividing line and squawking fowl of all kinds were taken over in divers fashion. Hardly had the throng cleared the buildings than flames and belching smoke broke forth from the thatched roofs that had sheltered the largest and most prosperous settlement of Acadia. La Loutre's Micmacs rushed from one building to another with blazing birch bark torches, spreading destruction with a wanton hand, while their black-gowned supervisor saw that nothing was left to fall into English hands. One hundred and twenty-one buildings, the church, mill, tannery, and brick kiln were destroyed that afternoon, and when Lawrence and his men finally landed only smoking embers remained of the clustered homes, while here and there desolate sheep or strayed cattle that had been missed complained mournfully to the smoke-blackened evening. Over on the Beausejour ridge La Loutre was marshalling his homeless flock to improvised shelters, telling them that it was a long step in the right direction, one that France would applaud, and soon they would receive compensation for all they had lost. Lawrence surveyed the deserted lands, saw little or nothing left with which to build his stronghold, saw no hope of supplies for his men, and returned to his ship, sailing back to the capital. Even the three small villages on the Amherst ridge were burned, as well as a few

settlers' homes at Napan, though many of these farmers had fled to the woods at the coming of La Loutre, and instead of joining the refugees at Beausejour, went to their kin at Makan, River Hébert and Menoudie. After Lawrence had gone, La Loutre advised the Beaubassin inhabitants to gather all their stock that had been abandoned as well as anything else that could be transported, and to continue with their crops in the hope that they could gather them before the English made another move. He also countered the offer Cornwallis had made of £100 for La Loutre's head by offering a "Premium for every prisoner, head or scalp of an Englishman."

Eighty families had settled on the Beausejour ridge, the majority since the coming of La Loutre. They occupied farms along the ridge as far as Pont au Buot, where there was a considerable village having a chapel and mill. The main church was at Beausejour. The Council at Halifax now issued an order that no grain could be exported from any settlement without express signed permission by the Governor. This was to prevent, as much as possible, La Loutre obtaining supplies for his encampment.

In September Lawrence returned to Chignecto with a strong force, fully equipped. He had 300 men of Warburton's regiment and 400 of Lascelle's. Everything necessary for the erection of a palisaded fort was brought with them as well as plentiful supplies. This time the expedition anchored on the English side of the Missiquash, but the French, disregarding their own rulings, tried to prevent any landing. Numbers of them, with Indian helpers, lay behind the dykes and directed a hot fire on the soldiers as they got into their boats. For a time the situation seemed difficult, and then Lawrence

dropped into one of the boats, was quickly rowed ashore, and at the head of his men rushed the hidden foe, scattering them in all directions The English lost six killed and twelve wounded, the French left sixteen of their number in the long marsh grasses. As the French fled the English saw that two priests had been hidden some distance back, no doubt urging on the men. Chase was given and Fathers Germain and Lelerne were almost captured. Lawrence encamped and hastily fortified himself. He built four bastions connected by double palisaded curtains, mounted his guns, and arranged shelter for his men.

In one year the pretty village of Beaubassin had disappeared to give place to an armed fort. Where children had played and sung beneath the apple trees, grim, red-coated soldiers patrolled. The ruins of La Vallière's old mansion were but an outpost for the French, and over on the Beausejour slope another fort frowned high above the marshlands. Men laboured daily on its walls and interior and the ditch was made sixteen feet wide and seven feet deep. Always hovering in the background were groups of feathered warriors and ever and anon the English watchers saw the black-robed figure of La Loutre hurrying to and fro among his people. The Beaubassin refugees had failed to garner all their crops before the English came. Uncertain of the future they had made no move to establish themselves on the unfavourable lands La Loutre had given them as temporary quarters. His wish was that they should go to Isle Royale, but reports they had heard discouraged the farmers. For three years these unfortunate souls sought to return to their holdings, and but for the fanatical determina-

tion of La Loutre would have again found their old time peace and prosperity. The Council at Halifax was now distrustful of all the French, but Governor Hopson, who had succeeded Cornwallis in August, 1752, was very kindly disposed toward the Acadians. He insisted that they be given hearings whenever they so requested, ruled that the English should pay the farmers their own prices for their produce, and was disposed to allow them full freedom for their religion. All he insisted on was that they take the oath. As such a step would be to invite the torches and tomahawks of the Micmacs, the suffering people would not take it. In defence they showed that they had already taken the oath from Phillips, and sent the Governor their old writings as proof. In the main the oath read: "We sincerely promise and swear by the faith of a Christian, that we shall be entirely faithful, and will truly submit ourselves to His Majesty, King George, whom we acknowledge as Sovereign Lord of New Scotland or Acadia; so God help us." At the same time Phillips promised the French inhabitants, in the King's name that they should have true exercise of their religion and bear exemption from using arms or being employed in warfare against either the French or Indians. That this oath was recognized is proved by a letter written by Lawrence on November 30th, 1755. He wrote: "The people were by us commonly called the Deserted French Inhabitants . . . . and had taken the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty in the time of General Phillips' government, with the *reserve of not bearing arms.*"

Hopson wrote the Lords of Trade the 10th of December, 1752:

"I should be glad to have your Lordships' opinion

as early in the spring as possible concerning the oaths I am to tender to the French inhabitants . . . . Mr. Cornwallis can inform you how difficult, if not impossible, it may be to force such a thing upon them, and what ill consequences may attend it. As they appear to be better disposed than they have been, and I hope will still amend and in a long course of time become less scrupulous, I beg to know in the spring how far his Majesty would approve my silence on this head until a more convenient opportunity. Mr. Cornwallis can inform you how useful and necessary these people are to us, how impossible it is to do without them, or to replace them, even if we had other settlers to put in their places, and at the same time will acquaint you how obstinate they have always been when the oaths were offered."

All through the winter Hopson treated the Acadians as well as possible and the following July wrote another letter to the Lords of Trade, saying: "As the almost continual war we have with the Indians prevents our mixing any English settlers among these inhabitants or instituting any sort of civil jurisdiction among them, they have hitherto been left open to the insinuations and evil practices of French priests and other emissaries that are sent amongst them from Canada and the French fort at Beausejour, who have at all times been endeavouring to prejudice them against an English government, and to persuade them that the country they live in will shortly fall into the hands of the French either by negotiations or by force of arms. Though these doctrines would not fail of their desired effect with so ignorant and so bigoted a people, yet no event happening in all this time towards the accomplish-

ment of their predictions, the inhabitants began to suspect they were deceived, and even some few of those who had deserted their lands again returned into the Province, and I have been privately informed that the inhabitants went so far as to hold consultation whether they should not throw themselves under the protection of the English government and become subjects to all intents and purposes; but there arose a very considerable objection to this step, which was that as they lived on farms very remote from one another, and, of course, are not capable of resisting any kind of an enemy, the French might send the Indians among them and distress them to such a degree that they would not be able to remain on their farms, which apprehension they were soon confirmed in by the arrival of the Abbé La Loutre at Bay Verte, where he has just now assembled the Indians."

About the middle of September, 1753, the Acadians petitioned the Governor to exempt the missionaries from taking the oath of allegiance. They pointed out that Phillips had promised them free exercise of their religion and a sufficient number of priests to administer to the people. This petition was granted as the Governor believed that the Quebec authorities had forbidden the priests to take the oath, and if he persisted in his orders would deprive the settlements of their clergy. This might be a strong factor in causing the French to leave. Near the end of September Hopson received a letter from the exiles near Beausejour, giving their reasons for remaining outside the Province. They were receiving rations from the French, but their lot was not a happy one, and they wished to test their standing. They did not wish to return on account

of "the new oath which His Excellency Mr. Cornwallis wished to extract from us, desiring to break and revoke the one granted to us on the 11th of October, 1727, by Governor Armstrong." They would be willing to take the following oath: "I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful to His Majesty, King George, the Second, and to his successors. So help me God." But this oath would only be taken when these conditions were granted. *First*, that they be exempted from taking up arms against any one whatever, and not be forced to act as pilots. *Second*, that they be free to sell their effects and leave the Province at any time. *Third*, that they have the full enjoyment of their religion with as many priests as they desire.

Hopson answered that all who would take their own oath should be allowed to return to their lands at Chignecto and enjoy the free exercise of their religion and all the privileges granted them by the Treaty of Utrecht. He did mention the clause about bearing arms, however, and so did not get an answer until the next June when they informed him that unless they were freed from obligations to bear arms they would not return. And so the matter rested when Hopson gave over the reins of government to Charles Lawrence. Hopson and Mascarene had been the best friends the Acadians had, and both had striven to win the confidence of these French farmers, but without success. Lawrence was of a sterner type. He had no faith in the French and wished all the Province for English settlers. His first letter to the Lords of Trade expressed his opinion without reserve. He complained of "many inconveniences he had long laboured under from their obstinacy, treachery, partiality to their own

countrymen, and their ingratitude for the favour, indulgence and protection they have at all times so unreservedly received from His Majesty's Government." He continued:

"Your lordship well knows they have always affected a neutrality, and as it has been generally imagined here that the mildness of the English Government would by degrees have fixed them in our interest, no violent measures have ever been taken with them. But this leniency has not had the least good effect; on the contrary I believe they have at present laid aside all thoughts of taking the oath voluntarily, and great numbers of them are at present gone to work for the French, in order to dike out the water at the settlement they were going to make on the north side of the Bay of Fundy, notwithstanding they were refused passes which they applied for to go thither. . . . The Chignecto inhabitants have repeated their application for readmission to their lands, but were acquainted it were useless to think of it without absolute compliance on their part. I was privately informed that at their return they were in a very ill humour with La Loutre, and with the French commandant, and that they represented to them the hardships they laboured under in not being suffered to accept the proposals of the English, in a remonstrance that I am told was little short of mutiny."

Just how desperate were some of the cases of the exiles in other parts can be imagined from a document sent to the Governor by William Cotterell.

"The bearers hereof being in all twenty-five persons are just arrived here from Louisburg from whence they made their escape to avoid starving. Some of them were formerly inhabitants of this

country, and are nearly related to old Labrador; they have all taken the oaths; the colonel desires you would treat them kindly, order them to be victualled, to have tools given them and land laid out for them where you shall see most convenient."

Lawrence learned that the settlements were covertly sending shipments of corn to Beausejour and on the 17th of September, issued a proclamation forbidding the exportation of corn from the Province "under a penalty of fifty pounds and a forfeiture of the corn so shipped, one-half to the informer, the other to the use and support of His Majesty's Government."

Early in October, six more Acadian families arrived at Halifax seeking protection, claiming that the threats of La Loutre had driven them to Cape Breton, but the Governor of Louisburg had permitted their return. They stated that if allowed their old farms they would take the oath of allegiance and behave properly in the future. They were allowed all they asked, food was supplied the needy and word circulated that all who so returned to their farms would be well treated.

La Loutre had a strenuous time shepherding his flock at Beausejour. He had established a store at Baie Verte and ordered the Acadians to deal there. Instead of obeying he learned that they were secretly trading at Fort Lawrence. The English gave them a better price for their produce, paid them in gold, allowed them certain credits, and had an abundance of liquid refreshment for each caller. The best feelings prevailed between these buyers and sellers. The French in 1751 erected a fort on the Baie Verte side of the Isthmus. This stronghold was named Fort Gasperaux, after the river

there. The fort was in the form of a square and the four bastions were solidly constructed of huge timbers. On the platforms were mounted six cannon. The curtains consisted of two rows of pickets, driven against each other, behind which was a bank of earth four feet wide and nearly four feet in height. A fosse was excavated six feet from the enclosure. The garrison was small, consisting of an officer and fifteen regulars, but the males of the settlement were all armed, were drilled regularly and had to report at the fort whenever the alarm was given. The old census of Gasperaux gives it a population of sixty-one persons, owning sixty-three horned cattle, seven horses and forty-three pigs. At Baie Verte, only two miles distant, and connected by a plank causeway over the swampy ground, were twenty-five more houses, a chapel and a well-furnished glebe house. This village was very prosperous and the homes were exceptionally comfortable. All the supplies from Quebec and Louisburg intended for Fort Beausejour were landed at Fort Gasperaux and taken across via the old waterway of the Micmacs or by the military road that the Acadians built under military supervision. Thus Fort Gasperaux was a very important half-way house between Cape Breton and Quebec.

In 1754 the Quebec authorities, at the request of La Loutre, ordered all the Acadians to take oath of fidelity to the French King and to enlist in the militia. Lawrence announced that all found bearing arms in event of military movements would be executed as criminals. Desperate by the two fires, the peasants stole across to Fort Lawrence in the night and asked for the best English terms. They were told that if they returned they would not be

required to bear arms for six months—and this was the utmost that could be allowed them. Some one gave information of this night mission, and La Loutre's rage knew no bounds, but he could not discover who had composed the party. Franquet, an engineer who was sent from Quebec to inspect Fort Beausejour, took a rough census of the refugees at the ridge, and those still at River Hébert and Menoudie. His list was as follows: Menoudie 169, River Hébert 112, Makan 86, Napan 142, Westcook 115, Les Planches 59, La Butte 86, Beaubassin 190, Cobequid 155, a total of 1,114 within call of the Fort.

VII—PICHON THE SPY

WE MUST introduce another character in the drama, Thomas Pichon, a young medical student of Marseilles, who was a clerk of stores at Fort Beausejour. Of more than usual intelligence, this fellow turned spy and was in the pay of Fort Lawrence until 1755 when, at the fall of Beausejour, he was ostensibly made prisoner with the rest of the garrison and taken to Halifax. There, apparently on parole, he made friends with French officers imprisoned at the barracks, and reported their conversation to the Council, for which he was highly paid. This Pichon had been Secretary of the Governor of Louisburg, and after his work at Halifax published a volume entitled "The Islands of Cape Breton and St. John." His mother was an Englishwoman and Pichon went to London eventually and there won a favourable position in society, which he held until his death. La Loutre he cordially hated, and lost no opportunity of letting the English know the priest's intentions. He revealed that Daudin, the priest of Annapolis, was working against the English, and the Governor had him arrested. Here is a portion of Pichon's letter to Scott, in command of Fort Lawrence:

"Daudin's affair is causing a good deal of noise. On Sunday Moses (Pichon always called La Loutre 'Moses' in derision of his pledges to lead the Acadians to better lands) preached a most violent sermon, in which he singularly accommodated the

British nation, and concluded by saying offensive things to the refugees, whose crimes are, in his estimation, the sole cause of the detention of a holy man. He afterwards represented to them what they—the refugees—had to expect from the English. That when they return to the other side they will have neither priests nor sacraments, but will die like miserable wretches. The vehemence, or rather the petulance with which he preached, exhausted him to such an extent that he had to go at it twice. He then told these refugees to appear, after mass, at the Commandant's, who had a letter from the General of Canada for them. The refugees did not come, however. De Vergor (the Commandant) sent a sergeant twice to summon them; a score of them arrived at the Fort. As they seemed in no hurry to enter, the impatient commander went to his door and called them himself, and in order to induce them to enter more rapidly he threatened to put them in irons, and spoke to them in the harshest manner.

"The tendency of the letter is to urge them to stay with the French and to establish themselves. It promises them various assistance. The letter, as you can well imagine, had been prepared at the instance of Moses himself. These poor people retired without compliment. Moses was present and played the part of Aaron—he was spokesman. De Vergor stutters. . . .

"On the 21st of last month, eighty-three of the refugees sent two of their deputies to carry their petition to the Governor of Canada, asking for authority to return to their old possessions, since we cannot give them land on this side suitable for cultivation; and stating that those which are offered

them are in places disputed by the English; that they are not released from the oath which they have taken to the King of Great Britain; and that if taken among the French they are threatened with being punished as criminals. . . . In the meantime Moses declared at the altar to the refugees who signed the request, that if they did not come to his house and retract what they had done, and efface their marks with their spittle, they should have no paradise to look forward to, nor sacraments to go to. There are several who have not dared to refuse acquiescence in such strong and powerful reasons."

Pichon more than once mentioned that the French suspected a spy was in their midst, but never dreamed that the trusted secretary of the Louisburg Governor would turn informant. Pichon, besides his writing, managed to pilfer many important documents belonging to the Acadians, the commandant, and La Loutre. One paper he sent had been taken from the Acadians of Beaubassin. It was a petition from the inhabitants of Cobequid, reading: "While we were in the enjoyment of peace Lieutenant Gorham came with sixty men of John Robert's. He came stealthily and at night, and carried off our pastor and four deputies. He read his instructions, by which he is ordered to seize upon all the guns found in our houses, and consequently to reduce us to a condition similar to that of the Irish. Gorham has returned to John Robert's. He has pitched his camp there and expects his brother with a hundred men. He is preparing to establish there a blockhouse, and a small fort, in order to obstruct the roads and prevent the departure of the inhabitants. There is no doubt that the English, early in the spring, will place vessels to

guard the passage of the entrance. Thus we see ourselves on the very brink of ruin, exposed to be carried off, and transported to the English islands and to lose our religion. Under these unhappy circumstances we have recourse to your charity; and we earnestly ask you to assist us in getting out of the hands of the English, and in withdrawing ourselves to French territory, where we can enjoy the exercise of our religion. We ask you to strike a blow; and after we have driven Gorham from our parish we will all go for our brothers at Piziquid, Grand Pré and Port Royal, who will join us for the purpose of delivering themselves from slavery with which they are threatened. We do not seek to make war. If the country belongs to the English we will give it up to them; but as we are the masters of our own persons we wish absolutely to leave it.

"It is your brothers who ask you for help; and we think that the charity, religion, and union that have always existed between us will constrain you to come and rescue us. We are waiting for you; you know that the time is hurrying on, and we beg you to send prompt reply.

"That is what I have been requested to write you, gentlemen, in faith of which I have signed the present petition.

"J. L. La Loutre."

The fine hand of the black-gowned disturber was too readily discerned in this case, and the people of Beaubassin took little heed of the epistle, which was penned after Cornwallis had sent a party to dislodge the thirty redskins that La Loutre had posted at Cobequid to capture English messengers and kill any Acadians who dared to cross the Shubenacadie

River. Under pretence of giving large pay, the wily missionary also enticed a band of three hundred Acadians from the Minas and Grand Pré district to go and assist with building the Isthmus road to Fort Gasperaux, and to assist in the building of a blockhouse at Pont au Buot. This little fort was to protect the line of communication across the Isthmus and also to guard the road that crossed the marsh to Buot's Bridge. Franquet, the engineer who inspected the forts and took a census of the people, wrote that the entrenchment at Pont au Buot was triangular, an enclosure made by double rows of palisades, banked and sodded behind. At the angles were platforms for guns, two ships' cannon from an English brigantine the Micmacs had surprised and captured. Quarters for the garrison were established in the rear of the post. Ensign Bilaron was in charge and had thirty regulars with him. After the Acadians grew sullen towards the commandant, De Vergor had a special guard placed on every road that led to the old Beaubassin ridge, but in spite of his precautions the Acadians still traded at Fort Lawrence.

La Loutre had done his best to create such enmity between the forts that all semblance of friendliness would be forgotten. Edward How had come to Fort Lawrence as a clerk. He was a man who was well liked by all with whom he came in contact, and had served the Government in many parts of Acadia. A native of one of the New England provinces, he had been sworn as a member of Council at Annapolis Royal on August 27th, 1736, and took his seat at the board on the following day, designated later as Commissary of the Musters at Canso. He served as high sheriff, justice of the peace, and

captain of militia. He was at Grand Pré as Commissary of Noble's troops when the French surprised them in midwinter, was severely wounded and taken prisoner. When recovered of his wound he was exchanged and came back to the Council Board. He was employed in all the difficult and important negotiations with the French and Indians, as he was courteous and tactful and had command of all three languages. He was at St. John's River and there made a treaty with the Indians. Following this he proceeded to Beaubassin or Fort Lawrence, to negotiate with the commander of Beausejour regarding an exchange of prisoners. Soon the Acadians came to trust him, and as he spoke both languages fluently he conducted many of the parleys that were held by delegates from the fort. He was particularly interested in the exchange of prisoners and held some lengthy consultations with La Loutre in this respect. One morning in October, 1752, a man was seen on the opposite bank of the Missiquash. This person was dressed as a French officer and was waving a white flag, signifying he wished to parley. How went down to the river to learn his mission and when near enough to see that the early visitor was a Micmac in disguise was shot down by redskinned skulkers in the long grass that fringed the dykes. There was not the least doubt that the murder was plotted by La Loutre in an effort to kill the growing intimacy between How and the Acadians. The French officials at the fort were very indignant, but could not fasten the guilt on the missionary. Jean Baptiste Cope was the Micmac chief who acted as decoy. For a time the French kept away from Fort Lawrence, but when they found that the English held no personal spite against them, they

were soon bartering their produce for English gold or goods.

It seemed as if the Acadians dared not make further advances to regain their lands, and the Governor asked for advice. La Loutre had gone to France and secured fifty thousand livres to assist in building an aboideau across the Aulac River. By this means he hoped to drain enough marshlands to enable more of the refugees to settle permanently. The money was paid out as wages and helped relieve the situation. The Lords of Trade replied to Lawrence as follows: "As to the inhabitants of the district of Chignecto, who are actually gone over to the French at Beausejour, if the Chief Justice should be of the opinion that by refusing to take the oath without reserve, or by deserting their settlements to join the French, they have forfeited their titles to their lands, we could wish that proper measures were pursued for carrying such forfeiture into execution by legal process, to the end you might grant them to any persons desirous of settling there, where we apprehend a settlement would be of great utility, if it could, in the present state of things, be effected; and as Mr. Shirley has pointed out in a letter to the Earl of Halifax that there is a probability of getting a considerable number of people from New England to settle, you would do well to consult him upon it; but it appears to us that every idea of an English settlement at this place would be absurd, but upon a supposition that the French forts, Beausejour, Bay Verte, etc., are destroyed, the Indians forced from their settlements, and the French driven to seek such asylum as they can find in the barren islands of Cape Breton and St. John and in Canada."

The errand of the deputies to Quebec had been noticed by the Bishop, who had from the first looked coldly on the activities of La Loutre. He had often cautioned the missionary to attend to affairs of the Church and leave other matters alone. Now he wrote him a very caustic letter. "You have at last, my dear sir, got into the very trouble which I foresaw, and which I predicted not long ago. The refugees could not fail to get into trouble sooner or later, and to charge you with being the cause of their misfortunes. It will be the same with those on the Island of St. John whenever war breaks out. They will be exposed to the English, ravaged without ceasing, and will throw the blame upon you. The court thought it necessary to facilitate their departure from their lands, but that is not a concern of our profession. It was my opinion that we should neither say anything against the course pursued, nor anything to induce it. I reminded you, a long time ago, that a priest ought not to meddle with temporal affairs, and that if he did so he would always create enemies, and cause his people to be discontented.

"I am now persuaded that the General and all France will not approve of the return of the refugees to their lands. . . . But is it right for you to refuse the sacraments, to threaten that they shall be deprived of the services of a priest, and that the savages shall treat them as enemies? I wish them conscientiously to abandon the lands they possessed under English rule; but it is well proved they cannot conscientiously return to them, *secluso perversionis periclo*."

The state of affairs that now existed at Chignecto caused grave anxiety to the English. Within two

miles of Fort Lawrence were fourteen hundred inhabitants, rendered desperate by circumstances, a well-armed force of French regulars and large bands of Indians. Inciting them on to violent deeds was the never-resting La Loutre. At any moment the English at the Isthmus might be overwhelmed. The conditions of this period are quaintly described in an old journal at the Public Archives.

"Besides French, there are the Aborigines or Native Indians of the country, or as the French call them *Les Sauvages;* these may be about Two or Three thousand in all, who are divided into several little Tribes, of which these four are the principal:

St. John Indians,
Mick Mack Indians,
Cape Sable Indians, and
Bay Verte or Cape Breton Indians.

"The Mick Mack Tribe are the most numerous Tribe and possess most of the country from the River St. Croix by Minas, Piziquid and Cobequid to Chignecto, which last place is their principal settlement. The St. Johns are not the most numerous Tribe, but are deemed most Civilized and most brave of their Tribes; they inhabit along the River St. John from whence they are called, and which lies opposite to Annapolis in the back part of Canada.

"The Cape Sable Indians are likewise named so from that point of the Country about which they reside and whose contiguity to Halifax may make them troublesome neighbours. These are rather a Branch of the Mick Macks than a separate Tribe. The Bay Verte or Cape Breton Indians live mostly along the coasts on these parts, but are frequently through the Province after their Game and particu-

larly come to trade at Chignecto which is only eighteen miles from Bay Verte, or as we call it Green Bay. These Indians are dispersed through the whole Province, and live chiefly on fishing in the summer and hunting in the winter. From this manner of life they are an active, hardy people, capable of fatigue, hunger and cold and know perfectly the use of Arms. And though their number nor their valour may not make them a formidable enemy, their little wood skirmishing and bush fighting will always make them a very troublesome one.

"They have no skill nor inclination to Husbandry nor Craft, but truck for these with the French for Sables and Furs, who likewise supply them with Rum, Brandy, Arms and Ammunition, of all of which they are very fond and much addicted to. They ,generally go naked, except a sort of Blankett girt about them, and Paint most furiously in war. These Indians mingle and sometimes intermarry with the French, and then they become tolerably civilized. They are bred up the most simple bigoted Papists, and in all the Cruelty and Ignorance of the most Implicit believers. For this purpose they have always their Missioners among them, either sent by the Bishop of Canada or direct from France; and these keep them in the true belief, that the Service of God and the Grand Monarque are one and the same thing.

"The chief amongst these priests is the Monsieur La Loutre, with whom you will be tolerably well acquainted in the Course of this Journal. He has (I am told) a very Good Pension from the Court of France and serves them faithfully for it. This La Loutre is the Master of their Wills and the Guide

to their Consciences. He manages their Trade in Peace and their Arms in war, supplies their wants and grants Indulgences to their Barbarities—It is he who arms and sends them through the Province fixing a price for the murdered or taken. For this Purpose regular Remittances are made from Canada and Lewisburgh. He punctually pays them for every scalp they bring in to him. The scalp (you must know) is the Forepart of the Head, raising the Skin from the Forehead to the Crown Hair and all wisely considering, they might kill more than they could conveniently bring in. He prudently contrived this safe and easy method no ways Liable to Fraud or Mistake, as our Hair and Complexions differ from Le Savage.

"The Holy Man, or as he styles himself, Préter Missionaire, lives in the midst of them at Chignecto, among the French regular troops that are there."

Let us now turn our attention to the forts and their garrisons. The garrisons at Fort Lawrence were well looked after as far as provisions went. An account dated September 3rd, 1751, says that 3 sloops carried 130 barrels of beef and 68 barrels of pork from Halifax to the Isthmus fort. Lawrence went back to Halifax after the fort was firmly established and the command was given to Captain George Scott, a brave officer, who took a leading part in the attack on Beausejour and had the honour of being the first to enter the fort after its surrender. He also distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg in 1758 and held a command in the Rangers at the capture of Quebec. It was he who was so strongly aroused when How was murdered, and his demands of the French for justice were very scathing. The only excuse he ever unearthed was

the account left by Mailliard, a missionary of Cape Breton, which, it is said, was written at the command of La Loutre. This account states that Edward How was in Cape Breton fourteen years before his death, at Port Thoulouise (St. Peters), and while there was embroiled in an argument on religious matters with a Frenchman. It was claimed that several Indian converts listened to the argument and were highly insulted when How referred to the Holy Virgin in a very sneering manner. The report goes on to say that the redskin who shot How from the cover of the dyke was a Nemesis who had followed him all the while. This story is ridiculous to anyone who has studied the reports on How by all our historians. Without exception he is quoted as the best friend the Acadians had, a man respected and loved by the French as well as by the English, who was also on excellent terms with the Indians.

Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, Governor of Canada from July, 1752, to June 24th, 1755, came to Fort Beausejour soon after his appointment and was surprised to learn that the countryside, according to his officers, was overrun with English deserters. He was not long in finding out that the same circumstance existed on the other side of the boundary. The English territory was overrun with deserters from the French posts, consisting of Fort Beausejour, the blockhouse at Pont au Buot, Fort Gasperaux, an outpost of Shepody, and Boishebert's force of eighty men at St. John. Duquesne refused to discuss the boundary line, saying it should be left to the commissioners who had been appointed in 1749. These had been, for the English, William Shirley of Massachusetts and William Mildmay; for the French, Marquis de La

Galissonière and M. Etienne de Silhouette. The claims of each side were so conflicting that after four years negotiations were broken off with matters unsettled.

Colonel Robert Monkton was placed in command of Fort Lawrence in August, 1752, and his instructions from the Governor were:

1. To maintain and defend the Fort committed to his charge against any persons whatsoever who shall appear before it in arms or show any intention to take or annoy it; to defend British subjects against hostilities on the part of the Indians, and, if he consistently can, to try and chastise such insolence.

2. To give full liberty to British subjects trading to Chignecto, laying no imposition on their merchandise except what has been already laid on by the Council.

3. To restrain as much as possible the selling of spirituous liquors by limiting the number and the operations of the sutlers.

4. To prevent any correspondence with the French, except what is necessary between him and the French Commandant on Government service.

5. To allow free sale of beer, cider and other refreshments, except spirituous liquors.

6. To take care that duties laid by Government be collected and accounted for by some responsible person.

7. To correspond with the Governor as often as opportunity offers, and furnish full information.

8. To prevent waste or misuse of firewood.

9. To refer to the Governor and French inhabitants, who have quitted Chignecto and desire to return to their allegiance, giving them a passport for the purpose.

10. To cause no new works to be undertaken or alterations made, except what Ensign Tonge is directed to do, or what is urgently necessary.

11. To put on board a ship-of-war (if there be any at hand) any French deserters and send them to Halifax.

12. To put under confinement and send to Halifax any person he may suspect of seducing others to mutiny or desertion or of being otherwise dangerous.

13. To receive from Captain Walters any balance of Government money he may have in his hands, and to direct the commanding office or paymasters to hand over to their successors all moneys belonging to their regiments.

14. To use all possible means to despatch the vessels as soon as he is landed, and to advise the officers that are being relieved to put their baggage on board the *Ulysses*, it being the only sloop to return to Halifax.

15. The sloops *York* and *New Casco*, after landing the troops at Minas, are to proceed to Annapolis Royal for posts and pickets, which they are to carry to Monckton's garrison. The *York* is to remain under Monckton's command throughout the winter. The other sloop may be detained until all the posts and pickets are brought over, care being taken to return her to Halifax before the season is too far advanced.

16. On his arrival Monckton will send a return of all stores.

Towards the last of August Hopson wrote Monckton that he had received word that a number of the St. John Indians had tired of the French and were willing to come to Halifax to be under English care.

He stated that the sloop *Hound* was being sent to Chignecto to transport them to the capital, and asked that Captain Scott go with them in charge. M. Desenclaves wrote to Monckton from Annapolis, asking him to be kind enough to forward some of his effects from the French fort, which La Loutre would hand over at the boundary. He made apology for the request, and offered to return the kindness whenever opportunity came his way. This priest is described by writers as a good and virtuous man who served faithfully the French who remained in the Province. After the priest's effects were passed on La Loutre asked for a conference with Monckton. The English commandant refused to go and meet the missionary, saying that he had no desire to do so. Captain John Rous was entrusted with carrying supplies and moneys from Halifax to Fort Lawrence, and this efficient seaman appears often in Acadian history. He commanded a sloop at the siege of Louisburg and for three years played a prominent part in the Bay of Fundy headwater.

Sixty of the French regulars deserted Beausejour and were taken to Halifax. Hopson sent them on to Boston. Soon after he received a communication from Duquesne asking that an exchange of deserters be effected. Hopson sent some printed copies of the cartel to Monckton in November, asking him to assist in this method of stopping desertion. The cartel read:

"Whereas His Excellency Monsieur Duquesne, Governor-General of New France and its Dependencies, etc., etc., has signified to His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq., Captain General, Governor in Chief, Vice-Admiral of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and Colonel of one of His

Majesty's Regiments of Foot, by his letter bearing Date the 30th of September, 1752, his proposals that a Cartel should be made between them, for the return of all soldiers that shall desert either of their Majesties' or their Masters' Services from either of their respective governments; And as the lateness of the season will not permit the said Cartel to be sent forthwith to Canada to be signed and ratified, His Excellency, Mr. Duquesne, agrees that His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq., shall publish the said Cartel in the form and manner that shall seem best to him, and that it shall continue and be in force from the said publication.

"All Officers Civil and Military are therefore to take Notice that the terms of the said Cartel are as follows, In the Execution of which they are to use the utmost of their Power, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

"I. That all Deserters shall be reciprocally returned, with their Arms, Accoutrements, Cloathing, or anything they shall take with them, as soon after their Arrival as there is an opportunity and at the most convenient place.

"II. That the Deserters so returned shall on neither side be punished with Death.

"III. That His Excellency Mr. Duquesne shall answer for the other French Governors in North America, that are Under his Orders, that they do observe this Cartel, and give orders to all their Officers wheresoever they may be on Detachment for the Observation of it. And His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq., doth engage on his Part, to return on these Conditions all Soldiers who shall desert His Most Christian Majesty's Service in North America, Provided they come with-

in any part of His Government, so that they may be apprehended.

"IV. This Cartel to continue and be in Force from the Date of the Publication thereof, until the 30th day of August in the Year 1753, by which time His Excellency Mr. Duquesne will have it in his power to signify His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq., his assent or dissent therefrom: If he assents, this to continue in Force from that Time forward; but in case of his dissent, His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq., is to have Three Months' Time from the Receipt of such Dissent, to have it proclaimed through this Province.

"Given, published and signed at Halifax, this Eighth Day of November, 1752.

"P. T. HOPSON,
"By His Excellency's Command,
"Wm. Cotterell, Secr."

VIII—THE MICMAC TREATY

MANY of the Micmacs, at this period, began to affect a friendliness towards the English. Messengers passed back and forth between the posts without being molested and travellers in many parts of the Province moved in security. On September 16th Jean Baptiste Cope, the same Micmac chief who had acted as the lure of Edward How, presented himself to the Council at Halifax, requesting a renewal of peace between his tribe and the English. The Council were very willing to resume amicable relations, terms were arranged and the peace signed on November 22nd, 1752, between the Government at Halifax and the Micmacs of Eastern Nova Scotia. It read:

"1. It is agreed that the Articles of Submission and Agreement, made at Boston in New England by the delegates of the Penobscot, Norridgwolk and St. John Indians, in the year 1725, Ratified and Confirmed by all the Nova Scotia Tribes, at Annapolis Royal, in the month of June 1726, and lately renewed with Governor Cornwallis at Halifax and Ratified at St. John's River, now read over, Explained and Interpreted, shall be and are hereby from this time forward Renewed, Reiterated, and forever Confirmed by them and their Tribe; and the said Indians for themselves and their Tribe and their Heirs aforesaid Do make and Renew the same Solemn Submissions and promises for the Strickt

observance of all the Articles therein contained as any time heretofore hath been done.

"2. That all Transactions during the late War shall on both sides be buried in Oblivion with the Hatchet, and that the said Indians shall have all favour, Friendship and Protection shewn them from His Majesty's Government.

"3. That the said Tribe shall use their utmost endeavours to bring in the other Indians to Renew and Ratify this Peace, and shall discover and make known any attempts or designs of any other Indians or Enemy whatever against His Majesty's Subjects within this Province so soon as they shall know thereof and shall also hinder and obstruct the same to the utmost of their power, and on the other hand if any of the Indians refusing to Ratify this Peace, shall make war upon the tribe who have now confirmed the same; they shall upon Application have such aid and Assistance from the Government for their defence as the case may require.

"4. It is agreed that the said Tribe of Indians shall not be hindered from, but have free liberty of Hunting and Fishing as usual; and that if they shall think a truckhouse needful at the River Chibenaceadie or any other place of their resort, they shall have the same built and proper Merchandise lodged therein, to be exchanged for what the Indians shall have to dispose of, and that in the meantime the said Indians shall have free liberty to bring for sale in Halifax or any other Settlement within the Province, skins, feathers, fowl, fish or any other thing they shall have to sell, where they shall have liberty to dispose thereof to the best Advantage.

"5. That a Quantity of Bread, Flour and such other Provisions as can be procured, necessary for

the Familys, and proportionable to the number of the said Indians, shall be given them half yearly for the time to come; and the same regard shall be had to the other Tribes that shall hereafter agree to Ratify and Renew the Peace upon the Terms and Conditions now Stipulated.

"6. That to Cherish a good Harmony and mutual Correspondence between the said Indians and this Government, His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esqr., Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia, Vice Admiral of the same and Colonel of one of His Majesty's Regiments of Foot, hereby promise on the Part of His Majesty, that the said Indians shall upon the first day of October Yearly, so long as they shall continue in Friendship, Receive Presents of Blankets, Tobacco and some Powder and Shot; and the said Indians promise once every year, upon the First of October to come by themselves or their Delegates and Receive the said Presents and Renew their Friendship and Submissions.

"7. That the Indians shall use their best Endeavours to save the Lives and Goods of any people Shipwrecked on this Coast, where they resort, and shall Conduct the people Saved to Halifax with their Goods, and a Reward adequate to the Salvadge, shall be given them.

"8. That all disputes whatsoever that may happen to arise between the Indians now at Peace, and others of His Majesty's Subjects in this Province shall be tryed in His Majesty's Courts of Civil Judicature, where the Indians shall have the same benefit, Advantage and Privileges, as any others of His Majesty's Subjects."

Ensign Winckworth Tonge had been sent to Fort Lawrence to superintend the strengthening of the defences. He is often mentioned in Isthmus history, and must have been a patient man, for there are many letters on record wherein the Council and the Governor were constantly warning that Tonge should not go to undue expense in his work. His allowance for the constructing of 1752 was the magnificent sum of fifty pounds. In the spring the ever-troublesome question of strong drink was prominent at the Fort district. Many buildings had been erected, many traders had settled under protection of the guns and farmers had acquired the rich lands the Acadians had cultivated. Among these newcomers had drifted many sutlers who sold rum under license, and as usual the greed of the rum seller had predominated. Not content with ordinary trade they sold the liquor before and after hours, took equipment and blankets as pay, and had many of the redcoats bound to them body and soul by promissory notes—all caused by trading on the soldiers' appetite. Hopson ruled that the sutlers be reduced to four at the Fort, any breaking rules were to be suspended. Other offenders in this line were the masters of trading schooners that put in at the Basin.

We must now introduce another character, a poor boy who became Lord Mayor of London. Captain Huston commanded a trading schooner that plied between Nova Scotia and Boston, and after Fort Lawrence was well established made his headquarters there. The French were still defying La Loutre's edict and trading with the English. Huston found their trade worthwhile. He also saw the fine lands and orchards that lay deserted

and built himself a home near the fort, bought cattle and farmed on a generous scale. On one of his trips to Boston in 1750 Huston, while in his boarding house, heard his landlady in loud argument with someone, and investigated. He found that offender to be a boy who was a penniless orphan, named Watson. This lad had lost the lower half of his right leg to a shark in Havana harbor, but appeared such a spirted upstanding youth that Huston took a fancy to him and signed papers, bonding himself to the boy's future. When he arrived at Chignecto, Watson at once proved he had more than ordinary ability by helping the trader with his accounts. So expert was the boy with figures that his reputation grew and Monckton engaged him as his accountant when he came to command the Fort. Joshua Winslow, a Commissary to Monckton's force, was also attracted by the lad's outstanding abilities and engaged him as a secretary in 1755. Many and varied are the accounts given of Watson's most exciting adventure while at Chignecto. Different writers claim to be correct in their details. The one generally agreed on as authentic states that Huston's cattle, in the spring of 1755, swam across the Missiquash to the French side. These cattle, seventy-two in number, were all that the garrison owned in the meat line, and could ill be spared at such a time. A party of soldiers were working near the river, but would not attempt a crossing as the stream was hardly free from floating ice. Watson, after trying to persuade some one to make an effort to save the cattle, stripped and crossed, having great difficulty in the soft mud banks. He succeeded in getting sixty of the herd back on the English side before the French

interfered. The French officer who came so admired Watson's pluck and energy that he allowed him to await the coming of a boat from the Fort Lawrence shore.

Another to have a home near the Fort, was Captain Sylvanus Cobb, and his dwelling was reported as the most comfortable home in the village. It was there that Lieut.-Col. Winslow of Shirley's Regiment was given lodging the night the soldiers landed at Chignecto.

However well meant may have been the intentions of Jean Baptiste Cope, the Micmacs soon broke their treaty. The summer of 1753 they came again to Halifax and were well entertained. Ninety warriors were banqueted, addressed, given a great variety of presents and sent away apparently in the best of spirits. Some belonging to distant points requested a schooner to take them and their presents homeward. The vessel was provided—and on the way the crew was murdered and the schooner run ashore. This act was done at the instigation of the French, according to later confessions of the redmen, and Prevost, writing four weeks later, stated: "Last month the savages took eighteen English scalps, and Monsier La Loutre was obliged to pay them eighteen hundred livres, Acadian money, which I have reimbursed him."

In 1754 the situation at Beausejour was well nigh unbearable. The farmers of that section, of farther along the ridge at Pont au Buot, and of Tantramar and Shepody, were now complaining of the refugees that were domiciled among them. The refugees themselves were a changed people. They huddled about in groups or fled at the approach of the officials, terrorized by the Indians and continually

threatened by La Loutre. Many more were sent to Isle St. Jean. A French writer's journal reads: "They refused to, but he compelled them at last, by threatening to make the Indians pillage them, carry off their wives and children, and even kill them before their eyes. Nevertheless he kept about him such as were most submissive to his will." Desperate at last by the increasing difficulties, La Loutre issued a proclamation stating that any of the inhabitants that crossed to the English should be treated as enemies by the Micmacs, that in the name of the Micmac nation he demanded the entire eastern half of the peninsula, including Fort Lawrence, for their sole use and sovereign ownership. The Halifax Council, after reading this document, recorded that "the contents appeared too insolent and absurd to be answered." By private channels they informed the Micmacs that if they desired anything of the English they must apply without the aid or knowledge of the French. The fort commandants had left the problem of the Acadian refugees entirely to La Loutre. Sieur de Vassan succeeded M. St. Ours des Chaillons, who had followed La Corne, and this officer was proud and haughty, though courageous and possessed of intelligence and business capacity. He applied himself well to his various duties, but left entirely to La Loutre the distribution of supplies among the Acadians. His contract with Monckton seemed to be mainly in regard to strayed horses and cattle, which were lost and recovered in turn by both sides, each acting with the utmost courtesy toward the other. The exchange of deserters was begun under de Vassan's regime and the first French deserter on record is one Rossignol of "La Houssay" company.

In exchange for him Monckton gets a soldier from Isle Royale (C.B.) named Birbringe. De Vassan then sent a list of French deserters who should be returned to him, and sent the paper with an escort who had an English deserter who had presented himself at Fort Beausejour. De Vassan also passed along some Flemish he found in French territory, nine men, four women and two girls. In the spring he returned eleven men, five women and six children, all Germans, who had passed the Acadian border. On May 25th, 1753, de Vassan complained that Monckton's men had threatened French soldiers who walked along the banks of the Missiquash.

Captain de La Martinière succeeded de Vassan, and proved himself an entirely different type of man. He was simply a man of business who left the English alone and cared little what the Acadians did. It was under his rule that the refugees got in touch with the English and made requests to be taken back. After a year of Martinière's rule M. Du Chambron de Vergor, whose father surrendered Louisburg in 1745, appeared as commanding officer, taking charge on August 18th, 1754. This officer was one of the few cowardly men who held high position in those times. His greatest friend was Bigot, the Intendant, who advised him to grasp all the monies that came his way, cheat the government in any way possible, and retire, with him, to enjoy the spoil in the homeland. Fort Beausejour, while French, held the unenviable reputation of being a nest for grafters. Chevalier Poilvillian de La Houssaye, commandant of Fort Gasperaux, on February 20th, 1752, wrote to Chevalier Michel Le Courtois de Surlaville, a major of marine detachment at Louisburg, and described the looting at the Isthmus

forts by two officials. "It has been unfortunate," he wrote, "for them to have had M. Jacau, brother of Madame Rodrique of Louisburg, officer of artillery, to direct works here, his integrity in setting prices and in keeping the time of the workmen, as also in providing for the solidity of the works; without which they would have each made thirty thousand livres of gain. I would have much to tell you were I to describe the plunderings, the misery of the Acadians, and the difficulties that are put in the way of our troops. . . ."

Pichon, writing to the same officer on November 12th, 1754, said: "I have now been living for a year at Fort Beausejour; M. de La Martinière who commanded here, left me idle, as did also M. de Vergor, his successor, who was also charged with the functions of commander. The former, although always bed-ridden, carried off more than eighty thousand livres; the latter, without knowing even how to read, will bear away still more. M. Bigot gave him for clerk a former soldier, and had just given him advice on what he calls his small affairs. Both have made me correct and revise their letters, those in particular which they considered of importance." This last statement regarding de Vergor's education is dubious, as he could at least inscribe his signature. It is on the registers of Louisburg and Port de la Jolie.

The crisis of the Isthmus was reached when English scouts intercepted a messenger from the Governor of Canada to La Loutre asking: "I invite both yourself and M. Vergor to devise a plausible pretext for attacking them vigorously." At the same time, two English soldiers were found scalped in the woods back of the fort. Lawrence wrote at

once to Shirley: "Being well informed that the French have designs of encroaching still farther upon His Majesty's rights in this Province, and that they propose, the moment they have repaired the fortifications of Louisburg, to attack our fort at Chignecto, I think it high time to make some effort to drive them from the north side of the Bay of Fundy." Monckton carried this letter to Boston. The French suspected his intentions and sent as spy on his movements one Ducoudrai, a violinist, and dancing master, whose wife ran a cabaret at Louisburg. This fellow was unequal to his task, however, and found time to reflect on his bad choice while lying in a New York prison.

Lawrence had given Monckton the following instructions: "With these instructions you will receive a letter for Governor Shirley which at Your Arrival at Boston You are to deliver to him, and to consult with him how two Thousand Men may be raised with the greatest Privacy and dispatch for the Service of this Province who are to be employed early in the Spring, under your command for the Reduction of the Fort the French have, contrary to treaty, set up in his Majesty's undoubted Territorys at a Place on the Bason of Chignecto, by them called Beausejour; As well as to remove them from any other Encroachments they have made on his Majesty's Dominions in this Province.

"If you find there is a great Probability of Your Procuring the Above mentioned number of Men to be in Readiness to take the Field in the beginning of March next You are to Provide, upon the Best Conditions in Your Power,

"Twelve Cannon, Eighteen Pounders
All Appurtenances for such Cannon,

One Hundred Rounds of Ammunition which will be about 150 Barrelles of Powder.
Harness for fifty Horses
Two hundred Bill hooks
Five hundred Pick Axes
Five hundred Iron Shod Shovells
Fifty Wheel Barrows, together with Tents, Small Arms, Ammunition Flints and other things necessary for the Troops.

"And that you may be the better enabled to carry on this Service You have herewith a Letter of unlimited Credit upon Messieurs Apthorp and Hancock, Merchants in Boston.

"If the Cannon and other Materials above mentioned cannot be procured in Boston, You must apply to the Governor of New York for his assistance in getting what may be wanted.

"You are to correspond with me as often as Opportunity Offers, letting me know how you go on; Taking care to send your Letters by the Safest Conveyance and in the Most Private manner. And you are to Conduct yourself according to these Instructions or such others as you may hereafter receive.

"But if it should so happen that you do not hear from me before the beginning of March, You are in that case, as soon as you think the weather will permit you, to take the Field, to hire a sufficient number of vessels to Transport Your Troops, Artillery, Baggage and Warlike Stores, and to Proceed to Chignecto and there to use your endeavours to take the French Fort at Beausejour, as that is the principal place they have. And if you succeed in taking it, You are to accept of such capitulation from the French Officer as you shall esteem most for his Majesty's honour and the good of the Service

and to dispatch a Vessel to acquaint me of your doings therein.

"You are then to send a Detachment such as You shall deem sufficient to Summon to Surrender a small fort the French have built at a Place called Gaspereau on or near the Bay of Verte. And if the Officer Commanding there shall refuse to Surrender, the Detachment must be ordered to use force to bring him to a Compliance. After which you are to wait in the most convenient place 'till you receive further Orders from me.

"During Your stay at Boston, You are in all things to consult His Excellency Governor Shirley and conduct Yourself according to his Advice and such Instructions as You now have or may hereafter receive from Me.

"Given at Halifax this seventh day of November, 1754.

"(Signed) CHAS. LAWRENCE.

"By Command of
"the Lieut. Governor,
"Wm. Cotterel, Secry."

Additional instructions were sent Monckton the first of February.

"After having performed the Service mentioned in your former Instructions, You are, if You receive No orders to the Contrary, to proceed to St. John's River, and do your utmost to dislodge the French from any forts or Settlements they have made there within Your reach and to burn and destroy such Forts or Settlements, behaving to any French Troops you may find there, as directed in your former instructions, concerning the French garrisons on the Isthmus. But you are on no account to undertake

this Service until You are in possession of the French Fort at Beausejour and have erazed every other Fort or Post they may have established on the Isthmus of Chignecto.

"On your Arrival at Chignecto You are to take Upon You the Command of the Troops in Garrison there As Well as those of the Expedition, and if You think proper to Exchange or draw out any part of them You shall want, to take with You, Observing Always to leave a Sufficient Number of Troops to defend the Fort.

"You are to Signify to the French Inhabitants, in the King's name, by Proclamation or the most Publick Method You can devise, that such as do not bring in their Arms to You are thereby declared Rebels and may expect to be treated accordingly, and in such Manner You are to proceed with them.

"When You have the Fort at Beausejour in Possession, You must cause the Breach or other damage received by Your Cannon to be repaired and to Garrison it Securely with Regular Troops before You Proceed to St. John's River; When all the Service herein mentioned is performed; You are to Come to Mines and Pisiquid and there wait for Orders.

"If any of the New England Irregulars should Shew desire to sit down on the deserted lands at Chignecto, And establish a Settlement there, You will give them all due Encouragement.

"Governor Shirley having desired that Mr. Irving may be joined with Messrs Apthrop and Hancock, as a joint Merchant Factor for the business of the Expedition, You are desired to sound Messrs. Apthrop and Hancock upon that point, and if you find no inconvenience is likely to ensue to the

Expedition from such a step, You are to admit him notwithstanding anything to the Contrary in your former Instructions.

"Given at Halifax the 29th day of January, 1755.

"(Signed) CHAS. LAWRENCE.

"By the Lt.-Gov. Commd.

"Wm. Cotterel, Secry."

The Mr. Irving mentioned was a son-in-law of Shirley's, and of course it was natural that the Governor should wish to place a few plums in his direction. More instructions were added later, chiefly orders as to whom should succeed Monckton in command in case he became a casualty. Shirley gave instructions to John Winslow, a gentleman who was much above the average in character and executive ability. Winslow was born in Plymouth, Mass., May 27th, 1702, and had seen considerable military service in the wars against Canada. He had just returned from Kennebec when given the commission to raise a force for attacking Beausejour. Shirley's conditions of enlistment were:

No man to be taken under age of eighteen or over forty years; the men to be able-bodied, free from bodily ailments and of perfect limbs; no Roman Catholic to be enlisted nor any man under five feet four inches in height; men to be paid from the date of their enlistment; to receive clothes before entering on actual duty. If some do not care to enlist at large, they may be engaged for three, five or seven years; to those enlisting for three years, a bounty of twenty shillings sterling, to those for four years thirty shillings; to those for seven years forty shillings, and to those enlisting at large, fifty shillings.

No person is to be enlisted except such as can be answerable for the money he advances to them. Before any bounty money is paid to an enlisted man, sections 2 and 6 of the Articles of War are to be read to him and he is to be sworn and attested before a Justice of the Peace.

"Shirley to Winslow:

"Winslow is to take command of the two battalions of the regiment and order them to the place of rendezvous on April 10th, supply them with clothing and such arms as can be procured in Boston, embark them with their arms, ammunition and provisions, and sail with them as soon as the weather permits to Nova Scotia, where they shall be landed at such place as Monckton directs.

"As soon as he lands he is to acquaint the Commander-in-Chief of his arrival, and send him a copy of Shirley's instructions to him, and to place himself under the orders of Monckton or other commander of the Expedition.

"At the end of the term for which the soldiers are enlisted, such as desire it are to be returned to their homes at the expense of the Government. As money will be required to carry out these plans, he is to apply for it to Monckton, whom he is to consult in all matters of consequence until his arrival in Nova Scotia.

"Winslow is to use the utmost despatch in carrying out these orders, and the government depends upon his prudence and good conduct, with the advice of his officers to take the most proper measures for his Majesty's service."

IX—MISERY REIGNS AT BEAUSEJOUR

ON THE Isthmus matters had gone from bad to worse. Pichon had purloined a paper from La Loutre, a letter from Doudin, the Annapolis priest, showing that this official was doing his utmost to stir the Acadians there to violence. On this information the priest was arrested and taken to Halifax. There he professed a change of heart and promised to attend only to the spiritual wants of his people should he be allowed to return to his parish. His pledge was received in good faith and he was sent back to Annapolis. The Acadians at Beausejour had now become accustomed to the Micmacs and had partly lost their fear of them. Only by the fiercest threats could La Loutre or Vergor maintain control. News had come to the English of a strong French force leaving Brest in February for some American destination, and consequently anxiety was rife on both sides of the Missiquash.

The snow left early the spring of that fateful year, and in the sunny May mornings the redcoats who rambled about the fortifications of Lawrence kept peering to the westward where lay mighty Beausejour. The traders and settlers at the English fort gathered daily to discuss the tense situation, for all knew that the summer would provide the climax; the English were sure that France was preparing to strike a blow at some part of the Province; the

French realized they could not hope to keep the refugee Acadians in submission much longer.

Indian and French runners went daily to Fort Gasperaux. De Vigor and La Loutre were very anxious for tidings from France, for news of the rumoured expedition. And as the month drew to a close without results the feelings of the oppressed refugees were at fever heat. Not in the annals of this country had there been such prolonged misery concentrated on one people. Not in Maritime history had there ever been collected a group so contrasting as that which milled about the ramparts of the French key of Acadia. The records kept by the French themselves show beyond a shadow of doubt just where the blame for that situation belonged.

Not in Maritime history had there collected so colourful a group of combatants. The fiery black-robed La Loutre moved restlessly about the ridge, escorted by his half-tamed savages, with crucifix and scalping knife as their chief possessions; there were sturdy Acadian peasants, their minds and souls passively submissive, but their instincts rebelling at circumstances without a parallel in America; French regulars in gay uniforms and the roving bushrangers, a virile uncurbed menace at all times. Among these, at times pacing the beats of the sentries in deep thought, strode the figure of Fiedmont, the artilleryman, a man of integrity and perception, and perchance the crafty Pichon peers across the marshes towards his English employers. To complete the picture we present the grasping, ill-natured de Vergor, full of deceit, and intrigue with his domestics.

Roma, an officer at Louisburg, in a letter to the Colonial Minister said:

"The fear that the Acadians have of the Indians is the controlling motive which makes them side with the French. The English, having in view the conquest of Canada, wished to give the French of that colony, in their conduct towards the Acadians, a striking example of the mildness of their government. Without raising the fortune of any of the inhabitants, they have supplied them for more than thirty-five years with the necessities of life, often on credit and with an excess of confidence, without troubling their debtors, without pressing them, without wishing to force them to pay. They have left them an appearance of liberty so excessive that they have not intervened in their disputes or even punished their crimes. They have allowed them to refuse with insolence certain moderate rents payable in grain and lawfully due. They have passed over in silence the contemptuous refusal of the Acadians to take titles from them for the new lands which they choose to occupy. We know very well the fruits of this conduct in the last war; and the English know it also. Judge, then, what will be the wrath and vengeance of this cruel nation."

The "fruits" referred to were doubtless the secret assistance the Acadians gave to the enemy.

La Jonquière in his letters states he entrusted Boishebert with the task of encouraging the Acadians to leave the Province.

La Jonquière writes, after three Indians had come to him regarding orders they had received from La Loutre: "I did not care to give them any advice upon the matter, and confined myself to a promise that I would on no account abandon them; and I

have provided for supplying them with everything, whether arms, ammunition, food or other necessaries. It is to be desired that these savages should succeed in thwarting the designs of the English, and even their settlement at Halifax. They are bent on doing so; and if they can carry out their plans, it is certain they will give the English great trouble, and so harass them that they will be a great obstacle in their path. The savages are to act alone; neither soldier nor French inhabitant is to join them; everything will be done of their own motion, and without showing that I had any knowledge of the matter. This is very essential; therefore I have written to the Sieur de Boishebert to observe great prudence in his measures, and to act very secretly, in order that the English may not perceive that we are providing for the needs of the said savages. It will be the missionaries who will manage all the negotiation, and direct the movements of the savages, who are in excellent hands, as the Reverend Father Germain and Monsieur l'Abbé La Loutre are very capable of making the most of them, and using them to the greatest advantage for our interests. They will manage their intrigue in such a way as not to appear in it."

Another letter states: "Monsieur Desherbiers has engaged Abbé La Loutre to distribute the usual presents among the savages, and Monsieur Bigot has placed in his hands an additional gift of cloth, blankets, powder and ball, to be given them in case they harass the English at Halifax. This missionary is to induce them to do so."

La Jonquière took bolder methods after learning that the Micmacs had slackened in their butchery. "In order that the savages may do their part

courageously, a few Acadians, dressed and painted in their way, could join them to strike the English. I cannot help consenting to what these savages do, because we have our hands tied by the peace, and so can do nothing ourselves. Besides, I do not think that any inconvenience will come of letting the Acadians mingle among them, because if they are captured we shall say they acted of their own accord."

His duplicity was soon discovered and Hopson wrote: "What we call here an Indian war is no other than a pretence for the French to commit hostilities on his Majesty's subjects."

The missionaries were hand-picked for the work of exciting the Micmacs and Acadians to deeds of violence. Only those who proved willing tools were sent on mission work in Acadia, and then there were exceptions. Girard, the priest who was seized at Cobequid and taken to Halifax in lieu of La Loutre's thirty Indians, took the oath of allegiance. After he returned to his flock he lived up to his oath, and soon complaints of this reached Quebec. The Bishop there was only interested in the spiritual needs of the Acadians and had often spoken against the work of La Loutre and his fellows, but the officials were all-powerful. Girard was given his choice, and to his lasting credit preferred the then barren wastes of Isle St. Jean to being false to a sworn oath. Cornwallis had protested to the Bishop in strong terms: "Was it you who sent La Loutre as a missionary to the Micmacs," he demanded, "and is it for their good that he excites these wretches to practise their cruelties against those who have shown them every kindness? The conduct of the priests of Acadia has been such that by command

of his Majesty I have published an Order declaring that if any one of them presumes to exercise his functions without my express permission he shall be dealt with according to the laws of England."

Girard, after a time on the island with refugees from Beaubassin and elsewhere (the most stubborn had been exiled there) wrote: "Many of them cannot protect themselves day or night from the severity of the cold. Most of the children are entirely naked; and when I go into a house they are all crouched in the ashes, close to the fire. They run off and hide themselves, without shoes, stockings or shirts. They are not all reduced to this extremity, but nearly all are in want."

And all this suffering had to a large extent been the results of the labour of La Loutre. Francis Parkman so describes this evil factor in Acadian history:

"Louis Jóseph La Loutre, Vicar General of Acadia and missionary to the Micmacs, was the most conspicuous person in the province, and more than any other man was answerable for the miseries that overwhelmed it. The sheep of which he was the shepherd dwelt at a day's journey from Halifax, by the banks of the River Shubenacadie, in small cabins of logs, mixed with wigwams of birch bark. They were not a docile flock, and to manage them needed address, energy, and money—with all of which the missionary was provided. He fed their traditional dislike of the English, and fanned their fanaticism born of the villainous counterfeit of Christianity which he and his predecessors had imposed upon them. Thus he contrived to use them on the one hand to murder the English, and on the other to terrify the Acadians; yet not without cost

to the French Government; for they had learned the value of money, and, except when their blood was up, were slow to take scalps without pay. La Loutre was a man of boundless egotism, a violent spirit of domination, an intense hatred of the English, and a fanaticism that stopped at nothing. Towards the Acadians he was a despot; and this simple and superstitious people, extremely susceptible to the influence of their priests, trembled before him. He was scarcely less masterful in his dealings with the Acadian clergy; and, aided by his quality of the Bishop's Vicar-General, he dragooned even the unwilling into his schemes. Three successive governors of New France thought him invaluable, yet feared the impetuosity of his zeal, and vainly tried to withstand it within safe bounds."

Winslow's men came to the Isthmus the first of June, and in two weeks captured the third strongest French fort in America. Many accounts have been written of this feat of untrained soldiers, all more or less coloured by individual opinion. To give a neutral story of the fall of Beausejour, I shall use four records, two English and two French. For the New Englanders' view of the undertaking I will use the diaries of Winslow and Surgeon Thomas, who accompanied the Massachusetts force; for the French the letters of Fiedmont, the artilleryman, who had spent three years on the Isthmus, and that of Captain M. Joubert, an officer from Isle Royale.

John Winslow, the Marshfield farmer, was one of the most honourable of soldiers. He showed a kindness to the enemy, a consideration for his men, and a mercy toward the Acadians that stamped him as a man of the type of Hopson and Cornwallis.

His first proposals to Shirley were that he should

be allowed eight hundred pounds sterling if he gave up the benefit of clothing and other perquisites, to be paid him before embarkation; that each company consist of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals and ninety privates, enlisted for one year of actual duty. He asked that his officers be given the same rate of pay as the regulars, and two months' pay in advance after the companies were enrolled to full strength. The men volunteering were to be given two dollars as expense money to take them to assembly points, the recruiting officer to stand good for deserters or those who did not pass examination. For each mess of six men, a camp kettle, a bowl, and a platter, for each man one spoon, one blanket, knapsack and bandolier, as well as arms and accoutrements.

The regiment was mustered early in April and on the 12th was given blankets and equipment, with the exception of muskets. Orders for that day contained: "It is recommended to every officer to take Care that their Men behave very orderly on the Sabbath Day, and that they either stay on board their Transports, or else go to Church, and not strole up and down the street.

"An officer of each Company is Ordered to inspect every Day into their respective Company's to see that their Men soke their Meat, and dress it well, and that they Sweep their Platforms every morning, and Keep themselves as Clean as possible. . . ."

The men were not to wear blankets on the streets nor to leave town without permits, and those who carried their own weapons were to list the same. Also the number of Indians attached to the battalion was desired. The drums were not to be beaten inside the town limits for either "Tatoo or

Revale." Recruits had come from every trade then known in the colonies and the majority of the men were rough and ready settlers, anxious to earn an honest dollar and perhaps find new lands that offered better living than their own. The roll call had many Biblical names—Zebulon, Jehiel, Caleb, Isaac, Samuel, Aaron, Ichabod, Moses, Noah, Abisha, Gideon, Elisha, Andrew, Joshua, Elijah and Uriah predominating in one company.

THE OFFICERS OF GOVERNOR SHIRLEY'S REGIMENT

First Battalion (Colonel Winslow's.)

Field Officers: J. Winslow, Lt.-Col.; Jed Preble, Major; Benj. Coldthwait, Major.

Captains: John Malcolm, John Winslow, Major Preble, Major Goldthwaite, Nathan Adams, Humpy Hobbs, Thos. Cobb, Phineas Osgood, William Lamson, Thos. Speakman, Jos. Stertervant.

Lieutenants: John Butler, Gram'l Bradford, Josh. Vaughn, Thos. Lane, Wm. Peabody, Job Crooker, John Carver, Timo. Wheeler, Timo. Northan, Timo. Tapley, Moses Curtis.

Ensigns: Jona. Brewer, Jotham Gay, Paul Pritchard, Nath. Barrel, James Par, Benj. Fasset, Thos. Cobb, Jr., Jere. Bancroft, John Grant, Josiah Willis, Eph. Holmes.

Staff Officers: John Phillips, Chaplain. Miles Witworth, Surgeon; John Thomas, Surgeon . . . Bridge, Quartermaster; Samuel Canixeda, Adjutant.

Second Battalion (Colonel Scott's).

Field Officers: Geo. Scott, Lt.-Col.; Jos. Frye, Major; Jere. Bourn, Mjr.

Captains: Phin Stephens, Wm. Brintnall, Nat'l. Perry, Enoch Nayley, ... Williard, Ephraim Jones, Samuel Gilbert.

Lieutenants: John Indicott, Jacob March, Robert Fletcher, Wm. Prescott, Asa Foster, Oliver Noyce, Henry Y. Brown, Josiah Winslow, Timo. Brown.

Ensigns: Thos. Hildreth, David Gorham, David Day, Joshua Lock.

Staff Officers: Jacob March and Cornelius Nye, Surgeons; Philip Godfrey, Quartermaster; John Bourn, Adjutant.

VESSELS ENGAGED IN TRANSPORTATION

H.M.S. Success, 20 guns, Captain John Rous.
H.M.S. Mermaid, 20 guns, Capt. Washington Shirby.
H.M.S. Syren, 20 guns, Captain Probe.
Prosperous, Joseph Bragdon, Master.
Molly, John Diggett
Elizabeth, Nathaniel Mulberry
Victory, Wm. Roderick
Leopard, Thomas Church
Endeavour, Thomas Irwett
Dolphin, Nathaniel Herryman
Seaflower, Samuel Harris
Swan, Jonathan Lovett
Mermaid, Samuel Lincoln
Neptune, Wm. Ford
Industry, Geo. Goodwin
Victory, Wm. Grow
Hannah, Richard Adams
Three Friends, Thos. Curtis
Yorke, Nathaniel Preble
Phœnix, Nathaniel Littlefield
Jolly, Jonathan David
Sally and Molly, James Purrington
Fortunate, John Clapp
Bideford, Benjamin Daniel

WITH STORES AND AMMUNITION

Ranger, Francis Perry
Swallow, Wm. Hase
Falinorth, Wm. Pote
Pegasus, Nathaniel Malcom
Molly, Nathaniel Gordon
Endeavour, Edward Bacon
Greyhound, Edward Hodgkins
Merrimack, Samuel Coverly

WITH MONCKTON AND STAFF

Laurence, Hector MacNeil

The men were embarked May 20th, but the wind being easterly the transports lay at anchor all day near Deer Island. All got under way at six o'clock in the morning of the 22nd and on the 25th sailed into Annapolis Basin, only the men-of-war remaining outside. While at Annapolis the ammunition was apportioned to the battalions, eleven casks going to Winslow's men, and two flints to each soldier. On June 1st they left the Basin and sailed up the Bay and that night anchored near the Joggins, some miles below Chignecto. They left there at four o'clock in the afternoon of June 2nd and were landing at Galop's Cove by six, arriving at the "Forte at Sun Setting." The men were lodged in barns and outhouses, the officers at the dwellings. Winslow was given rooms at Sylvanus Cobb's. The 3rd was spent in getting all stores and equipment landed and in order, while the officers held conference.

The attack on Beausejour was commenced on the 4th. At daybreak the men were mustered four deep and marched up the ridge to a point opposite Pont au Buot. There was an advance guard of sixty men under Captain Adams that went across the marsh to the place where the Acadian bridge had been. Four brass cannon, six pounders, were taken along, drawn by husky redcoats, who received additional pay for their labour. The baggage and stores of the battalions were taken along on waggons, also drawn by hand, and as the French had cut the dykes in many places, flooding the old road, progress was painfully slow. Opposite the river crossing the French had thrown up a breastwork, and a force of four hundred Regulars, inhabitants and Indians lay concealed behind it until the New Englanders were

within three hundred yards. Then those behind the barricade, and the cannon in the blockhouse, opened up a hot fire "which was Briskly Returned by the Advanced Party." The redcoats rushed their four guns to the front and opened a well-aimed barrage on the blockhouse. So successful were the gunners that in less than an hour the blockhouse was in flames. The New Englanders rushed up to the river with the timbers they had carried and laid a bridge suitable for the troops to cross on, and in a short time the barricade was eliminated. The Acadians could not face concentrated musketry fire and they fled at the first onslaught. The Indians were little better, and the regulars were too few to hold their ground. As the Massachusetts men pressed on, the French fired the village and set all stock at freedom. Though the English were carrying all before them, they were harassed by the continual sniping of the Indians and bush rangers who took advantage of the hilly ground and shot from cover. A sergeant was killed and eleven men wounded at the river crossing. One Indian and three Frenchmen lay dead behind the breastwork. Before nightfall the English had forced their way down the ridge to within two miles of the Fort and there they encamped. The next day they moved up half-a-mile closer and explored the territory they were to cross. That night parties from Beausejour fired on the New England sentries.

On June 6th Captain Sylvanus Cobb brought his sloop up the Missiquash on the full tide, with stores for the men. The fort cannon fired at him without avail, as they could not lower their aim sufficiently to reach the river. Then a party of French rushed down the hill to try their luck from behind the

dykes. This would have been disastrous for Cobb had not a company of the New Englanders hurried to the scene. They drove off the French and escorted Cobb to safety. The paroles and countersigns used by the English were quaint and interesting. Winslow mentions: "Cumberland," "Friends to Nova Scotia," "Friends to Boston." On the night of the 7th orders were given not to make fires or any noise whatever, and a breastwork of brush was erected about the ruins of the farmhouses. Cobb got through several times with more supplies and rum was issued. On the 8th Winslow took 300 men and made his way through the bush to view a place for setting their guns. They arrived on a hill within 600 yards of the fort, and Mr. Tonge, the engineer, was satisfied with the situation. The French gave fight to some extent, but Lt.-Col. Scott came with an extra company, and the English held their position. Monckton, however, sent word that they could not expect to hold the place so soon and ordered their return. The English captured one French regular who ventured too near. The historical "isle" that Vallière had cleared had been used by the French as an outpost. The New Englanders soon captured it and placed there a garrison of their own. Ensign Hay was with this party, and on the night of the 8th left it to carry a message to Monckton on the French ridge. He was captured by a patrol of Indians, who used him roughly, stripping him of his uniform and threatening him with their weapons. A French officer came to the rescue, accompanied Hay to the Fort, and there provided him with clothing and comfortable quarters. The next day Major Barlong, the French officer who had commanded Pont au Buot, came to

the English under a flag of truce and explained that Hay was in good health and would be treated well. He then expressed his surprise that the English should attack Beausejour in time of peace.

On June 9th strict orders were issued regarding tools, complaints having been made that many of the picks and shovels were missing. A ruling was also announced regarding ammunition. Any soldier who fired his musket without orders to do so from his superiors would be fined two pence sterling for every shot. Fifty men were detailed for road-making, brush being used to fill the hollows. The day following more scouting was in order, and on the 11th Winslow took 400 men and went in a round-about way to the high ground they had occupied on the 8th, driving the French back to the fort without sustaining a single casualty. Captain Adams took 100 volunteers and explored to the right of the fort, near the former village, and captured a brass cannon the French had been unable to drag to cover. Adams also took possession of a fine coach belonging to Major Barlong, as well as other plunder.

The Adams party went out again on the 12th and brought back a French regular who had deserted his garrison. At noon a force of five hundred men went, for the third time, and held the high position near the fort. This time the French opposed them more vigorously, and one English regular was killed; Winkworth Tonge, the engineer, Major Preble, and four privates were wounded. The French kept up a steady fire on the English all the next day, but the New Englanders dug their entrenchments with perfect coolness. That night, using ox carts and oxen left at Pont au Buot, the English brought two

eight-inch mortars, with their shells and other artillery stores, to the newly-dug trench. Captain Sylvanus Cobb was with the party and in the darkness the convoy had an exciting time reaching their trench 110 yards farther towards the fort. As soon as the French saw the new works they opened a brisk fire, and the English answered with their mortars. However, a shot from the fort, better directed than usual, disabled one mortar. The New Englanders had some five-inch mortars in position, but found the range too great for them to be effective. On the 15th Monckton sent word that he was sending up another eight-inch mortar to replace the one damaged, also a thirteen inch one, but cautioned Winslow to be sparing of his ammunition. Winslow reported that the French were tearing down all buildings that remained outside the ramparts, and were firing continually on the trenches, sometimes burying the men under loose soil. The day was very rainy and a total of fifty-two men were reported sick at sunset.

X—THE FALL OF THE KEY TO ACADIA

THE STORY of the 16th will best be told in Winslow's own version:

"Patrol Probey"

"June 16. The Trenches to be relieved by the same Number of officers and Men as yesterday, Lieut-Col. Winslow, Capt. Hale and Mjr. Frye for that Duty to Parade at Four o'clock. The Enemy began their Fire this Morning Early, which was Briskly returned by our thirteen and 8-inch Mortars, about Nine, Came a Flag of Truce from the Fort with Forms in order for a Capitulation on which a Council of War was Called Consisting of Lieut.-Col. Monckton, Lieut.-Col. Winslow, Capt. Broome, Huzey and Spittle, Majors Frye, Goldthwaite and Bourn and Mr. Bruce the Engineer, who rejected their Terms, and Proposed others, viz. To this Effect:

"1st. That they the French March out with their Small Arms, Drums Beating, Match Lighted and the Honours of War and Transported at the Cost of the King of Great Britain to Lewisburgh and not Bare Arms for Six Months from the Date and Carry of their Effects, etc.

"2nd. That the Inhabitants be Left in the Same Situation as they were when we arrived and not Punished for what they had Done Since our being in the Country, and they allowed till Two of ye Clock to Consider. In which time they Came to a

Determination to Surrender on the Terms Proposed, upon which they were allowed till Seven to March out. Col. Scott and the Party in the Trenches ordered to take possession which was Done, and in the Evening about Sun Setting Col. Monckton and myself with the regulars and 300 New England troops Marcht into the Forts where being Entered we Found that one of our Large Shells at Eight in the Morning Fell upon a Casement they Immagined to be Secure and Kild Mr. Hay, one of our officers taken on the Eight, and four of their officers, our Bombs before Killing them Several Men & Done them Vast Damage. The regulars & half the New England Troops Lodged in the Garrison. I with the others without.

"Thus having Got into the Forte I would observe That from our First Marching from Fort Lawrence to Forte Beausejour we were Continually Molested by Parties of the Enemy, we were continually Molested and Harassed in our Camps, and Particularly this Day at One of the Clock the French and Indians Attacht us by Firing on our Guards, upon which we Rallied and Fired on Them, wounded one of the Chief of the Indians who informed us that we had wounded one other of the Mickmack Tribe before he was hurt and that in Passing the Bridge at Pont Debute we Kild one of the Chiefs of the St. Johns Tribe and Kild and wounded a Great Many French & Indians (after which and Taking a Dram or too he Quietly Dyied), and throh all our Varous Scirmages and Different Parties we put our Enemys to Flight and throh God's Goodness had but Three men Kild and none wounded but what are in a way to do well. The enemy by the

Best Intelligence Lost upwards of Twenty and Many wounded."

On the 17th Winslow reported that he had two soldiers in custody whom he had arrested for plundering the French supplies, and asked for directions.

Winslow also asks for a copy of "Cappitulation" that he may mail it to Shirley at first opportunity. On June 18 Monckton sent Winslow orders to go up the ridge to French military road and proceed to Fort Gasperaux. He had exchanged terms with the commandant there, who, under De Vergor's orders, had accepted the same terms as given to Beausejour's commander. Carts were supplied the English for transporting their supplies and baggage, and Monckton was especially anxious to get a report on the condition of the farther fort and its stores. He sent a proclamation to Winslow for posting at the village on Bay Verte:

"De Par Le Roy.

"Par Ordre de Son Excellence Charles Lawrence Ecuyer Lieutenant Gouvenor et Commandant in Chief de la Province, de la Novell Écosse de la accardia, etc., etc., etc.

"Proclamation

"Aux Habitants et tous autres Natiss de Chignecto Bay Verte Tintamar Chipondie La Rivere St. Jean et Leur Dependance et Environs et Tous autres Les Sujets du Roy de La Grand Bretagne Qui ont point Encore facit Leur Soumission. Dautant qui Laplus part des Habitants des places Susditter, et autres ont point encore facis Leur Soumission au Roy de La Grande Britagne, mais

au Contraire ses Sont Comportez Contre Youte ordre et Loyante envers Les propre Souverain.

"Verte Pourquoi Cellec est pour Les ordonner de ses reparer Immediatement a mon Champ our fair Leu Soumission opportant ance eux toutes Leurs armes a fuse, Epees, Sabres, Pistoles et tout autres Instruments De Guerre Eu Desobeif Sance de Largville. I. Cs.

"Seront traitez Comme Rebelles, avec Lexecution Militaire.

"Donne au Champ de Chignecto ce Troisieme Jour de May, 1755.

"ROBT. MONCKTON."

Monckton also suggested that the terms of capitulation should go through his hands to Shirley, saying he should despatch a vessel to Boston while Winslow was at Gasperaux. In every case it is easily seen that Monckton meant to keep the volunteers in their place and allow no infringement of the holy rights of the regulars. Winslow acknowledged the orders from his superior and came right back with the request that all his men be paid three dollars on account for services rendered thus far, his corporals and drummers four dollars a head, and six dollars to the sergeants. He pointed out that his battalion was in need of money, and also spoke of the men who had been caught pilfering. He finished his request with a desire for twenty cartridges for each man.

Monckton paid scant heed to the request for money and ordered Winslow to take particular pains to apprehend La Loutre if possible—in any event, to secure his chest which would contain valuable papers. He stated that he had information

that the chest had been taken to Abbé Monacks, the priest at Bay Verte. Winslow marched across the Isthmus, only halting to replace the bridge that the French had destroyed. He arrived at Fort Gasperaux at sunset and found M. Vilray in command with a garrison of thirty regulars and a few clerks. He invoiced the stores as: "4 cannon 4 pounders, 4 two-pounders, 2 Swivells, 2 Carragis for Cannon, 7 barrels of Powder, one Hundred weight Musquet Balls, 8 Hdds Molasses, 3 barrels of Pease, 6 Barrel of Flower, 230 Barrels of Porke, 3 Barrels of Tallow, 10 Galls Lamp Oyle, 9 Doz. of Cod Lines, 1,300 Iron Shot and about 50 Cartherages as Witness our Hand &c."

His letter is quaintly descriptive: "We arrived at this place a Little before Sun Setting and Immediately took Possession of the Garrison which I take to be one Hundred and Eighty Foot Square with Four Bad Blockhouses one at Each Corner, a Ditch partly Dug No ramparts nor Glasses nor an Exstrodenary Palasade, a Large Storehouse but not Tight nor Floar. Neither is there one building in the Whole Teannantable all things are Miserable to the Last Degree.

"I have Sent your Honor an Invoyce of the warlike Stores and Provisions. Found Considerable Quantities rold out of the Garrison to Places adjatent and Some Molasses in the water. Fine Nither Bread nor Licquors, nor Flower for Much More than One Day, so that in case we remain more than tomorrow we must be Supplyed with Bread for the Party as also their Camp Kettles, as I Find no Kinde of vessels to Dres their Provisions in and they are obliged to Broyl their Pork or eat it Raw which I doubt will be of bad consequence. . . ."

Winslow searched thoroughly for La Loutre, but found no trace of him. The inhabitants stuck to the story that the two priests had loaded their belongings on a boat and put off for either Isle St. Jean or Canada. He found the village at Bay Verte quite prosperous. "This Vilage Contains about Twenty-five Houses, a Chapele and Priest's House well furnished, and the inhabitants of this village live in better form and more after the English manner than any I have seen in this Province and have an Open Communication with the Island of St. John and the Inhabitants of Cape Briton whomme they furnish with Lumber Indian Goods, &c., and from Whomme they receive the Conveniencys of Life in Return."

The diary of Surgeon John Thomas is just as interesting as Winslow's, but not so given to detail. It agrees in the main with the latter's account, so only occasional jottings will be given. On the 28th of April he records: "Stormy Day one Solder Dyed Last Night Belonging to Capt. Hobbs Company the First yt has Dyed Since they were mustered at Boston." "Annapolis Royal Bason may ye 27 A.D., 1755. I went with a Whale Boats Crue To ye Gut & Bought a mess of Cod Fish of ye French, then went up to the Narrason with Capt. Speakman & others, Dined at a Tavern thare Come Down P.M. & ye Transports Came up Goat Island Some Rany." June 3rd. "Wind S. W. Blow Hard we Lodged at Fort Lawrence. In the barns or whare Ever we Could & among the Inhabitants & Last Night we Pitched our Tents near the Foart & made Preparations to march against the French Foart which is about 7 miles ye roade as we are obliged to march."

"June 4. Capt. Adams led the Advance Gard which Consisted of 60 men. We marched on slowly; about 11 o'clock we Came on Large Salt marsh whare we ware in Plain view of a French Blockhouse & Fassines thrown up Sufficient to Screen a Large No. of men whare they could Secure themselves from our Fire & yet have all the advantage on us, but we marched on direct for the Enemy, this being the only Pass we could have over to the main Fort yt we ware Designed for Now we hear the Indians begin to make thare most Hideous yells & large numbers of the Enemy Appearing Redy to Ingage us; our troops keep on thare march & when we got within musket Shot we Received the Fire of thare Swivel Guns with Cartridge shot Which Seemed to Come very thick, wounded several of our men, but None Killed; we Returned the Compliment with one of our Field peases upon which they gave us a volley of Small Arms, I believe not less than Six Hundred, upon which our Troops Fired Briskly. Capt. Brooks who Commanded ye arteliery Plied the Field Peases Closely & the Fire from the Enemy was very warm, for they had Two Carage Guns & Four Swivels Beside thare Small arms, but our Fire was So warm upon them and they see our troops So Resolute yt thay Found we would force them from thare Ground thay sot all thare Buildings on Fire & Fled we Recovered the Ground about 1 of the Clock pm we had but one man killd dead on the Spot 2 mortaly wounded 10 more that are Likely to Recover of thare wounds this I think to be ye most Remarkable thing I ever Saw yt we should Receive So much of thare Fire & Nothing to Cover us from it & yet no More Killed & Wounded but as we are on a mash

& the Enemy on an Emenace that Shot over our Heds but when we Recovd the Ground we Refreshed our Selves Dressed our Wounded Put them into Carts & marched on 2 miles distant from the French Fort called Fort Beausejour we Killed 14 of the Enemy Sertain & how many more we cant tell but we Heare of a Considerable No Wounded this Fortification was Comanded by monsieur Brulong." He mentions further that they heard "Drums Beating & Great Confusion at Fort Beausejour."

"June 6 . . . a small Number of the Enemy came Near our Camp this Evening & Fired on us but we Soon made them Retreat we Catch Cattle Horses and Hoogs in Plenty the Enemy send a Party to Intercept Capt Sylvanus Cobb as he Came up the River Massaquah with his vessel but they Doe him No Great Damage for we sent a Party of our Troops who Ingaged them behind the Dikes & Oblige them to Retreat Carying of Sum of thare wounded. . ."

"June 7 . . . the French & Indians Fire on Us Every Night & yt Briskly, so yt the whole Camp is Disturbed by them."

His description of the rest of the siege is very similar to Winslow's, and leads to final surrender after the big bomb had broken in the casement. Though a surgeon, Dr. Thomas was forced to take charge of guards and carry out the military duties of a regular officer.

Now let us have the other side of the picture. Of course, there were many happenings not chronicled by the four whose accounts I have chosen. For instance, La Loutre devised a crafty scheme to aid the inhabitants. He sent word to Captain de La Vallière, who was at Louisburg, and got that officer's permission to deed "La Vallière's domain,

ten leagues from the Isle, in portions, to certain of the land-starved farmers. The occupation of the land in question was, of course, another matter, but the priest pointed out that as the titles were valid and filed at Quebec, they would hold good when the French conquered Acadia. The French officers plundered all in the fort and Vergor and Devannes, the officer who carried the terms of surrender to Monckton, had hidden much booty in a cellar of a burned farmhouse, placing a sentry on guard to make sure of their goods. The sentry proved faithless, however, and one thousand crowns were taken out of one trunk, which money was not recovered. La Loutre escaped in disguise before the English came in. Legend has it that two volunteers in the garrison went by canoe the night before with much wealth of the officials and the vessels of the chapel which was burned, took it out of the Basin to River Hébert where they buried it hastily in the river bank and could not afterward locate the spot.

Louis Thomas Jacau de Friedmont was born at Plaisance in 1712 and was forty-three years old at the taking of Beausejour. Transported to Louisburg, he soon turned up at Quebec. He wrote on August 20th, 1755: "The garrison left the place the next day after the surrender, in order to embark on the ships which carried us to Louisburg, where the Governor furnished us with other conveyeances to carry us to Quebec, whither we arrived 18th August . . . for a long time our neighbours mediated taking Beausejour and the other posts dependent on it, pretending that we were established in the centre of their province of N.S. When their necessary preparations for the execution of their

enterprise were made, they caused a warning to be published to the Acadians of Minas, of Port Royal, and the surrounding districts, forbidding them to leave their canton, and cutting them off from all communication with Fort B; they also warned those who had taken refuge within our boundaries, that when they would come to chase us from the territory which, they pretended, belonged to them, if they found them joined with us in arms to oppose their design, they would treat them as traitorous subjects of England.

"Notwithstanding all the announcements and other warnings which we received, we were not troubled, knowing that an understanding and union appeared to reign between the two Crowns, and having received an order in preceding years to hold ourselves quiet on both sides until it should be determined by way of negotiation what were the boundaries acceptable to the court, we dwelt in a security as perfect as if we were in the middle of Paris.

"At five o'clock on the morning of the second of June we were disabused of our error. A habitant from Mosquito Cape, on French Bay, distant about two hours from Point Beausejour, came and notified M. Vergor du Chambon, commandant, that an English fleet of about forty vessels loaded with people had entered the cove which the cape there forms, to await the return of the tide and enter the basin of Beausejour.

"The commandant, doubting no longer the design of the English, despatched couriers to Quebec, the St. John River, Louisburg, and Isle St. Jean, to solicit help; and to the rivers dependent on that post and the surrounding country, to have the inhabi-

tants come to the fort, with orders to take up arms and fire on the English the moment they should attempt to invade the king's territories or attack the fort. At five in the afternoon the enemy's fleet appeared and their troops debarked at six o'clock.

"A census of the inhabitants being taken—who did not amount to 220 men in the place of the 600 on whom we counted—they were distributed over the different works with officers to keep them in check. M. de Boucherville, with eight inhabitants, was sent to bring in those who were in the houses. He returned to the fort with only two men and reported to the commandant that the inhabitants whom he had sought were not willing to come; that they had hidden their arms and thrown away their ammunition, saying that they would not run the risk of being hanged, as the English had threatened, if they took up arms against them; and, with the exception of some good fellows who remained on the works, all the rest disappeared like smoke. That evening a detachment of sixteen inhabitants, without arms, arrived from Isle Saint Jean, led by M. Pomeroy, whom M. de Villejoing, who commanded there, had sent.

"M. the abbé La Loutre, missionary among the Acadians and Indians, encouraged them the best he could. He urged the inhabitants to work, and the Indians to annoy the enemy and try to take prisoners. A habitant named Beausoliel (real name Brossard, who lived on the bank of the Petitcodiac River, a short distance from Moncton, and was a leader in war and raids on the English), who passed for the most intrepid and energetic of the Acadians, promised the missionary that he would do his utmost to take some prisoners.

"Early in the morning of the 8th, Beausoliel returned to the fort to notify us that he had taken an English officer who was then being brought in, Beausoliel's men having had to make a long detour through the woods in order to avoid the enemy. A short while after, a small body of our men could be seen approaching with the prisoner by way of the marsh. He was received with much respect and politeness, and on giving his parole was left free. He even received permission from our commandant to write to his commander; M. Vergor also wrote the latter, assuring him that he would provide every comfort for this officer.

"At daybreak of the 13th the English were seen at work on their first parallel at a distance of 450 toises from our palisades. They began to throw seven and eight-inch shells from six to seven o'clock in the morning. At ten o'clock twenty Abenaqui Indians arrived; they sang their war songs and promised to make prisoners.

"On the 14th I made representations to the commandant that the new shells which the enemy were throwing in on us were likely to pierce the bombproof, in which the English officer and some others whom he did not like to expose, were put; that it was necessary to remove this officer from that place lest any accident should happen to him. This the commandant was willing to do; but the officer himself asked as a favour to remain in the place, saying that he would be less exposed there than in the trench. He was left there; moreover, everybody considered the bombproof capable of resisting the full shock of the shells.

"At ten in the evening the c.o. received a letter from the Governor at Louisburg in answer to the

one which he had sent soliciting help. The Governor informed him that he could not send him help. The habitants had been flattered with the promise of this succor, and believed we could not do without it. To increase our misfortune, these evil tidings leaked out almost immediately among them; the larger part of them then decided to abandon us, and eighty were seen to disappear.

"On the 15th a soldier deserted, at which we should not be surprised as he had just been let out of prison, where he had been a long time confined for rape and other evil deeds. The Acadians no longer occupied themselves except to seek shelter from the shells by creeping into the casements; although only one of their number was killed this day. That caused a tumult among them. The principal and most respected among them came and spoke for all and represented that, since there was no longer hope for help, it was impossible to resist such forces, and that they were unwilling to sacrifice themselves uselessly. They went further, too, it is claimed, and said something which gave reason to call a council of war. At this council it was decided to publish an ordinance forbidding them to make the like proposals again, or to leave the fort, under penalty of being shot, and of having, besides, their property confiscated.

"During the night of the 15th-16th several volleys of musketry were heard. We did not doubt that it was the Abenaqui Indians and Acadians who were attacking the advanced post of the enemy. The shelling continued on the part of the enemy on the 16th; and some of their shells pierced exactly the subterranean refuge of the English officer. He was killed together with an officer of the garrison and two

other persons (Sieur Bambault, cadet, and Fernalud, interpreter, and the Chevalier de Billy). This stroke increased the disorder of the place. The inhabitants came in a crowd to the commandant and demanded that he should capitulate, saying that if we were of contrary resolution to that which they had taken they would no longer respect the garrison, whose threats they did not fear; that they would turn their arms against the troops, and deliver the fort to the English. I was on the battery and was not a witness to this riot.

"The c.o. called a meeting of the officers, in order that they might take their proper share in the deliberations as to the state in which he found himself. He then asked me if the powder magazine was secure against the heavy shells. I answered Yes, that the heaviest shell that the enemy could send could not pierce it, if by chance it fell on it, but that, if the damages it might do were not repaired, I would not be responsible should another fall on the same spot. There is reason to believe that the whole assembly having seen that the bombproof which it was claimed was strong enough to withstand the shells, had been pierced, thought that the powder magazine was still weaker, and that if I was opposed in opinion to themselves, it was through obstinacy, and that I really was of their opinion.

"The English took possession of the fort at half-past seven that evening. The men passed the night under arms and did not touch the merchandise and effects of the King, which were scattered everywhere, all the buildings being destroyed. But when they saw our own people pillaging, the English officers could no longer restrain their men. They placed, nevertheless, a portion of the goods in safety. Our

men embarked the next day on the transports for Louisburg.

"The English Company wrote to the Company of Gasperaux at Bay Verte to offer him and his garrison of twenty men the conditions granted to the Company of Beausejour, which, by lack of reflection, were accepted.

"We had two of our best cannon burst, one of which was burst from the muzzle to within about six inches of the trunnions, and the other from the muzzle about half way to the touch hole. These pieces were very often discharged uselessly, although I was careful to economize ammunition; but the soldiers received orders to fire. Moreover, the cannon were badly eaten with rust, which corrodes the chamber and makes it scale and thus diminishes the strength of the metal. We have not been able to find out the English losses. We know only that one of their engineers had a leg cut off by a cannon ball while laying out their lines, and that two of their mortars were disabled by our cannon."

Here is M. Joubert, a captain in Isle Royale, in an undated letter written to the same man, M. de Surlvaille:

"The event justified our observations. They forestalled us, and in consequence drove us out of Acadie. The seven shells which fell into Fort Beausejour obliged Sieur Virgor to capitulate. He marched out with the honours of war, and on condition not to serve for six months. Sieur Villeray followed the example of his superior officer, he gave up Fort Gasperaux on the same terms, without even waiting to have the honour done him of being attacked. If, as a military man should have done, the Sieur Vergor had reasoned that his fort was

unable to hold out until succor could come, he should have burned it and retreated—a course which was easy for him to pursue, as the enemy had not blockaded him. He merely held out for three days, during which time he lost two officers and four men. Will eyes never be opened to such officers? Shall private interests always prevail over public interests? The attacking troops were in part regulars from their fort of Beaubassin, the remainder being militia, the entire force amounting to 2,000 men. They crossed the Messagoueche near Pont-à-But; they did not fire a single cannon or gun-shot against the fort; the King's goods were not put to pillage; in surrendering the fort no inventory was taken. Pichon, they say, remained in Acadia to make one for the English. I salute him, if that can bring him anything. There is no word of him. Our troops of Acadia were brought by French Bay to Louisburg.

"Last winter one hundred and thirty thousand livres' worth of wood was burned. Is there not in this sufficient provocation to make the blood of every honest citizen boil, who hears tell of such destruction—not to call it knavery?"

Friedmond was taken prisoner at Quebec and sent to France. He was the only one who refused to sign the decision of the Council of War to surrender Quebec.

Pierre Melanson, maternal grandfather of Friedmont, Captain of Artillery, came to Acadia with Thomas Temple in 1657. The census called him a tailor. His brother Charles and he came from Scotland and were Protestants. They abjured their religion, became Catholics and married Acadian wives. Charles is the progenitor of the Maritime Melansons.

XI—THE SUMMER OF 1755

ON THE 21st of June Winslow sent word that his men were in need of water. A few tubs set in the ground had supplied the small French garrison, but the water was not pure and was already expended. The inhabitants informed the English that in summer the French had been often compelled to bring water in carts from a considerable distance. So many things were needed to repair and fit the place for a garrison that the New England Colonel advised leaving it, after first levelling the fortifications. Monckton sent a force to relieve Winslow and ordered the place to be held until word to the contrary came from Halifax. Fort Beausejour had been renamed Fort Cumberland the day after its capture, in honour of the Duke of Cumberland, and Gasperaux was now named Fort Monckton. At Fort Cumberland the French inhabitants who had given themselves up were put to work cleaning up the place and burying the dead who lay half-covered in the parade ground. To make room for the Acadians, nearly all the stores had been carried outside. Some of the cannon were damaged through balls too large for their bore having been used.

A grand banquet was given by the officers of the surrendered garrison, on the night of the 17th. Wine flowed freely and songs were sung in French and English. Droll speeches were in order and all enjoyed themselves immensely. Looting had gone

on to such an extent that the clerk of the French fort refused to sign an account of the stores. On the 22nd all the guns of both forts were fired to celebrate the anniversary of the accession of King George the Second. Pichon was taken to Halifax, pretence being made to hold him a prisoner. De Vergor was tried for cowardice by the French Government, but through the influence of the Commander of Louisburg was cleared. Later at Quebec he was the officer whose negligence allowed Wolfe to reach the Plains of Abraham by passing his post. Evidently he had lost most of his ill-gotten gains of Beausejour or was still greedy, for the Governor in a letter to France wrote: "Captain de Vergor, Chevalier of St. Louis, was dangerously wounded during the English attack of September 13th (capture of Quebec), and is to all appearances disabled for service by his wound. I have the honour to ask for him and for the three preceding (Captains de Lesignau, de la Corne and de Repentigny, Chevaliers of St. Louis) a pension of 400 livres." This extract is dated Jan. 7th, 1761. De Vergor remained at Quebec until October of that year and then embarked on the packet boat, *Le Molineux*, arriving at Havre January 1st, 1762. In the roster of that year they state De Vergor was "mediocre in every respect, and rich."

La Loutre fled to Quebec by way of New Brunswick and met with a very cool reception. He was rightly blamed for much of the misery of the Acadians and had very evidently overshot the mark in all his transactions. He got passage for France, but his vessel was captured by an English cruiser and the priest was sent to the Island of Jersey where he remained a prisoner of war for eight long years.

John Knox, an officer, in his records relates that while La Loutre was a prisoner a sentry was placed on guard who had served in Acadia. The fellow was so incensed at sight of the missionary that he was only restrained by force from spitting La Loutre with his bayonet. The sentry declared that while he was a helpless prisoner in Micmac hands La Loutre had ordered him scalped and had actually marked him around the forehead with a knife in preparation before he was restrained. So intense was the hatred of the soldier that the authorities had to remove him from the island. La Loutre was released at the end of the war, and finished his career labouring among Acadian refugees who had managed to get back to Europe.

Monckton ruled with a very firm hand. He was a very haughty man, held no sympathy for the Acadians and very little respect for Winslow and his volunteers. It is interesting to read his changes made with de Vergor's proffered capitulation. The proposals made to the English were:

"The Commanding Officers, Staff, the King's Employees, and the Garrison of Beausejour will march out with arms and baggage, drums beating, and match lighted." *Granted*—in Monckton's handwriting.

"The Commandant shall have at the head of the Garrison, six pieces of cannon of the largest calibre, and a mortar, with fifty rounds of powder for each cannon." *Not granted.*

"The necessary conveyances shall be furnished to transport them to Baie Verte, whence the Garrison will embark in their vessels to go where they choose." *The Garrison shall be sent directly at the King of Great Britain's charge to Louisburg by sea.*

"The Garrison shall take with them two hundred quarters of flour and one hundred quarters of bacon." *They shall have a sufficiency of provisions to carry them to Louisburg.*

"The Garrison shall be allowed the necessary time to go from this post to Baie Verte, and from Baie Verte to their destination." *Answered before.*

"The Acadians shall not be disturbed for having taken up arms, the more so because they were forced on pain of their lives; no harm shall be done them. The Acadians shall be permitted to continue to live in their religion, they may have priests, and no violence shall be done them." *The Acadians having been obliged to take up arms at the forfeiture of their lives, shall be forgiven for the part they have now acted.*

"Those of the Acadians who desire to do shall be permitted to withdraw to the territories of the King of France with their moveable effects. They shall have a year to decide on this point, counting from the day of the present capitulation, and the French shall be allowed to furnish the Acadians with the necessary vessels to withdraw during the course of the year.

"All the articles of this capitulation which are susceptible of more than one explanation, shall be interpreted to the advantage of the French and executed in good faith.

"*Lastly, the Garrison shall not bear arms on the Continent of America for six months to come from the date hereof.*

"*The above terms will be granted on condition that the Garrison is delivered up this evening to the troops of His Britannic Majesty by six.*"

The passages in italics were added in Monckton's own writing.

The days that followed at Fort Cumberland were mainly without incident. Each day would see some soldier in trouble over firing his musket on Guard, being insolent to superiors or something of like nature. The chief punishments were the whipping post and the riding of the "horse," a wooden block on which a man sat for one or two hours, with weights attached to his feet to ensure his discomfort. Three officers were sent to St. John's River to seize the French post there. When the English boats hove in sight the French fired their fort and all the outbuildings, fleeing to the forest. About 150 Indians came forward, fired their muskets in the air as a salute and swore that they were now true brothers of the English. After Captain Rous, who was in charge of the attackers, had gone, the Acadians came from their hiding places and sent one of their number as a delegate to Fort Cumberland, saying that they would at once surrender were it not for Boishebert who was near with a party of French regulars. They had sent two messengers to Boishebert to ask permission to yield to the English. They submitted that they were perfectly willing to give up their arms, but if Boishebert forbade what could they do? They asked that Monckton remember their predicament, and be patient until Boishebert was out of the way, when they would at once testify their respect and submission.

A good deal of humour is contained in the exchanges between the New England officers, who though they resented the supercilious coldness of the British officers, performed their duties in a

careful, thorough manner. Lawrence wrote his congratulations to the Massachusetts battalion, and Goldthwaite, a major, mentioning it says: "If he had Tackt a Hhds. of Rum to it it would have been Doubley acceptable." In the orders of the day for July 7th, Monckton drily requests that the officers commanding the two New England battalions take care that their captains provide their men with shirts and other necessities, as he has noticed that many have not changed even their shirts since leaving Boston, and are in great need of shoes and stockings. Winslow retorted that it was impossible to replace the worn articles, as neither men nor officers had received one cent of pay to date. At Fort Monckton Thomas Cobb found things as bad as Winslow had represented, and in July he writes continuous complaint of provisions and surroundings, without, however, much satisfaction. In July 17th, Winslow inspected his men and reported forty-five as unfit for service. The reasons set forth were: "Lame," "Infirm," "On a Decline," "Rumatizin," "Intermitting Faver," "Venerial," "Weak in his Limbs," "Ulcer in his Legs," "Fits," "Slow Feaver," "Feaver and ague," "Pain in his head," "Troubled with Purging," "Lost his Leg by Accident," "Small and Lame," etc. "Campt Beausejour, July 24th, 1755—a Court Martial to be held forthwith for the Tryal of Peter an Indian for Fighting with his Mess Mate and Bighting a Piece of his arm sd Indian belonging to Capt. Malcolm's Company in the First Battalion, and for the Tryal of Arthur Tea for Pulling up the wiping post and Carrying it of." July's account concludes with: "Thus we have got to the end of July the whole of which was spent in an indolent manner and the acquaintance between the Two

Camps Greatly Dropt. There being no Cal for A Convention of officers Since the Surrender of Fort Cumberland and No Partys of the arm Stiring. Thoh I immediately after the Burning of the Forte on the River of St. Johns applyed to Colo Monckton for Leave to Proceed in Strong Parties Two or three days March at a time to reconniter the Countrey and make ourselves acquainted with its Situation and urged that it would Not only make us pilots in the Province but would be also beneficial to the Healths of the men & Continued to renew this request often and was also Backt in that Motion by Mjars Preble and Goldthwait but Could never obtain the Favor Saving for Colo Prebles once Vissiting Fort Gaspareau."

On the 4th of August all was serene at Fort Cumberland. The soldiers of the two camps lay about in the grass, chatting idly and gazing on the wealth of beauty that encircled their hill. The Basin of Chignecto glimmered in the sunshine, the rivers that split the wide green marshes were silvery ribbons. Hazy in the heat, dark blue in the distance, the forest-crowned mountains of Shepody and Cobequid rimmed the horizon. And across in distant Minudie and at Tantramar the white-washed homes of the Acadians were embosomed in scenes of plenty. Winslow and Major Preble strolled over the ridge and descended the Tantramar slope, talking of the wasted summer and probable events of the future. Drinking in the rich aroma of the marsh grass freshened by salty tangs from the sea, they gave little heed of their wandering until suddenly a short distance in front they beheld eleven Indians advancing in their direction. He cites the incident in his diary: "This Day Eleven of the St. Johns

Indians Came to Tantemar and Sent pr the French to enter in articles of Peace, and after being Assured by Colo Monckton that they Should not be hurt Crost the River over to Beausejour side. Kept themSelves Close in the Marsh which was unknown to Colo Preble and mySelf who Strold within Less than a quarter of a Mile of them to View the Countray wch throh Colo Monckton in a Panick on our acct who sent a Man to recal us but we were on our return before he Came to us."

The next day was their last period of tranquillity. The second morning a messenger came hurrying to Winslow, and he bore the following:

"Forte Cumberland Camp, August 6th, 1755.

"Sir, In Consequence of a Letter from Lieut. Govr. Lawrence, I Should be Glad to Speak with you as soon as Convenient.

"I am yr obedient Humble Servt.,

"ROBT. MONCKTON."

We will let Winslow tell the story in his own way, the beginning of the greatest tragedy in American history: "In consequence of the Above Letter I immediately waited on Colo Monckton who Informed me Govr Lawrence had wrote him that it was his Desier that I with part of the New England Troops Should be removed to Piziquid that I might be near to Consult about Settlin part of the Country by New England men, but that he and the sd Monckton Could not yet resolve what Force he could Spare and also was so Free as to acquaint me that it was Determined to remove all the French Inhabitants out of the Province and that he Should Send for all the adult Males from Tantemar Shepedy, Lake Beausejour and Bay Verte to read the Gover-

nours Orders, and when that was Done was Determined to retain them all Prisoners in the Forte, and also informed me that ye Indians of St. Johns insisted of having Colo Scott whom they Knew, to be sent to them as a Hostage to be returned when the Treaty was over and the Indians marcht of. and that they Persisted to make Peace only for one year. I Told the Colo that I Imagined his word was sufficient for their Save passing and that it would be Disonerable to Give Them any other Security and reminded him of the Fate of Capt How, and that I Looked upon a Peace for one year worse Than None. Especially as we had now Force Sufficient to Correct them if they should offer any insults or refuse peace on our Own terms, and as the Massachusetts Bay was at actual war with that Very Tribe it would be Od in us to make Peace without their Knoledge.

"Further the Colo informed me that our party Sent out were Gon to Cobbegate & Tarmwbush to bring of those Inhabitants to Distroye their Vessels &c, and this is the First Conference of a Publick Nature I have had with the Colo since the reduction of Beausejour & apprehend that No officer of Either Core has been made more Free with, that Even these things remain a Secret to the rest."

On the 8th the Indians departed, not having been granted Scott as a hostage, but having been told firmly that the English were now in authority, and while they were willing to be friendly with all would not tolerate further mischief. An Indian who had been a prisoner at the fort was released and allowed to go with his fellows. On the 9th the inhabitants were summoned, but as they did not respond in numbers, were told to come again the

next day. Their numbers were increased on the 10th, but still lacked the muster that Monckton expected, so he detained them over night while sending word for the remainder to report. In the morning Winslow was ordered to take a strong party and search "Olake" (Aulac) for all males above the age of sixteen. Major Bourn was ordered to command a similar party and Major Preble a third, and orders were posted that the Horses, Cows, Sheep and Oxen and all property whatsoever owned by the French Inhabitants were now forfeited to His Majesty King George, that none of the Acadians could leave camp, nor were any of their cattle to be killed.

Read more of Winslow: "This Day was one Exstrodernary to The Inhabitants of Tantamar, Wescoat, Olake, Bay of Verte, Beausejour & Places adjatent, the Male Inhabitants or the Principal of them being Colected togather In Forte Cumberland To hear the Setence which Determined their property from The Govr & Council of Halifax, which was that they were Declared rebels, There Lands Goods & Chattels Forfitt to the Crown and their Bodys to be Imprisoned, upon which the Gates of the Forte were Shut & they all Confined to the amount of Four Hundred men & Upwards."

Major Preble was ordered to scour Westcock and Tantramar for more males. Major Bourn was sent with 150 French prisoners to Fort Lawrence, with orders to take command of that place and guard the Acadians. Captain Cobb was sent after the Males of Shepody, but the people there had been warned and all fled to the woods. He returned without a prisoner. The day ended with the New England troops being charged with sheep killing and stealing, which made Winslow very indignant.

On the 13th Winslow was told that transports were ready to convey him and four companies to Piziquid. The New Englander at once remarked that it was a very small command for one of his rank. He then stated that the payments of the soldiers should be adjusted before they left Fort Cumberland. The men had not received the Rum and Molasses to which they were entitled, the men who had drawn the guns had been promised twelve pence additional to regular pay; none of these things had been settled. Monckton replied that it was no time for settling accounts. Eleven more males were brought in from Olake and Major Preble returned with three prisoners. The total at sunset was 420 in the two forts. Winslow, after futile efforts to effect a settlement regarding pay, went down to the Missiquash to arrange for boats, leaving Adams to march off the four companies. When the soldiers came Adams informed Winslow that as he marched by the fort Monckton sent his aide-de-camp to take the regimental colours from the New Englanders, actually seizing them from the hands of the Ensign who acted as bearer. Winslow never forgot this insult. He wrote at the time: "which I apprehend is the Firt Time that Ever a British Commander-in-Chief Took the King's Colours from a Marching party that had always behaved well. This Transaction Caused great uneasiness to both officers & Soldiers & raised my Temper Some." The next day he wrote Monckton: "Am Extramly Sorrey if I have by any means gained your displeasure not being Contious to my Self that I have Merrited it but must think it so by my Colurs being Struck yesterday when on a March which to me is a great surprise as i Took it to be a Clear Case

where a Regiment was on Different Dutys the Colours always went with the Commanding officer and to me it looks od and will appear So in Future History that the French who were Conquered Should March with their Colours Flying and that we who assisted to Conquer them were not permitted."

Monckton replied that the colours were never removed without the knowledge of the officer first in command and that the reason he stopped them was that they should stay with the strength of the battalion. To which Winslow answered that the command of the regiment was his entirely and Shirley's name had only been used as a compliment, which the records bore out, and then he gave a list of the men of the command, showing a company at Fort Monckton, another at Fort Lawrence, 248 in camp and 297 with him, thus proving that *he* had the "strength of the battalion." He concluded with the statement that the whole episode was "the most Ungentel Ilnatined thing that Ever I Saw & as Such I Set it Down in my Book." He sailed for Piziquid on the 17th.

We must now turn to the diary of Surgeon Thomas and follow events with him. He occasionally refers to the religious services the men were called to attend, when the preachers were extremely long-winded. On July 6th he states that "Mr. Phillips Preached all Day on ye Perade." The weather turned colder after the departure of Winslow and Thomas says he "built his tent with logs." On the 25th the party returned from Cobequid bringing with them several prisoners and reporting that they had "Burnt Several Fine Villages." Three days later Capt. Cobb and Adams were ordered to go to

Shepody, take what French they could and burn the villages there and at Petitcodiac. Captain Gilbert was despatched to Bay Verte to bring in what inhabitants he could catch and burn their village.

"September 2. Pleasant Day major Frye Sent Leit. Jno. Indicut on shore with men to Burn a Vilige at a Place called Petcojack after thay had Burnt Several Houses & Barns thay ware about to Burn a New Masshaouse a Large Number of French & Indians Ran upon them out of the Wood and Fired on them So yt thay ware obliged to Retreat. Doct march who had Just Joyned him with ten men from Capt Speakman's party who came on Shore the Other side of ye vilige was killed on the Spot 22 more killed & taken Seven wound badly." This was the first disaster the English had encountered, and their loses were severe. Lieut. Billings was wounded in' arm and body. Captain Speakman, in a letter, describes the expedition.

"Camp Cumberland, 5th Sept., 1755.

"I am sorry my first letter should be the bearer of such melancholy news as the defeat of a part of a detachment sent out under Major Frye, who sailed from this place with Capt. Brental, myself and Mr. Endicott, Dr. March and Lieut. Billings, and two hundred men, to burn the buildings at Shepody, Petitcodiac and Memramcook, and after having burned one hundred and eighty-one buildings at Shepody we sailed on the 3rd instant. After sailing up Petitcodiac River, and burning on both sides of the river all the morning, about one o'clock Colonel Frye ordered Capt. Adams to come to anchor, and land his men opposite the mass-house, in order to burn a small village below it, and join Mr.

Endicott and Mr. Billings with sixty men. Accordingly I and Dr. March went on shore with a party, but by reason of difficulty of landing, was obliged to march with twenty men, ten of which Dr. March took with him, though contrary to orders, and went to the village to burn the mass-house, when Mr. Endicott's party joined and before they could get the mass-house on fire, they were beset by about three hundred French and Indians, and our men, being straggled about, were soon defeated. Dr. March and five or six privates certainly killed; we had eleven more wounded, among whom is Lieut. Billings, who is badly wounded, having received a shot through his left arm and another through his body, which is looked upon as dangerous. I was in a small village adjoining, and had set fire to the houses just as I heard the attack, and repaired to the marsh and joined them, but before I got there the most of the men had left their officers, and with difficulty it was we got Mr. Billings away; our powder was wet and little of it; no water and but two days' provisions obliged us to return without proceeding any further, after burning two hundred and fifty-three buildings, with a large quantity of wheat and flax. The people here are much concerned for fear of your party meeting the same fate, being in the heart of a numerous and devilish crew, which I pray God avert.

"THOS. SPEAKMAN."

Captain Gilbert returned from Bay Verte and reported that he had "Consumed that Vilige & the Houses adjacent." The rout of Frye's party was the first hostile movement directed by the famous Boishebert. Charles des Champs de Boishebert

was born in Quebec in 1727, and entered military service at the age of fifteen. He served first in Acadia in 1746 and was prominent in the mid-winter attack at Grand Pré a year later. After he was driven from the St. John River in 1755, he founded a number of flying camps on the north shore of the Bay of Fundy from which he used to sally to the aid of the harassed Acadians and in surprise attacks on outposts. Of good birth and breeding, he was one of those daring Frenchmen who in that country of adventure were attracted by the free and easy forest life. He held high favour with the Indians and accumulated a courageous band of wood rangers. For three years he harried the Isthmus forts with more or less success. Major Dixon, the Irish officer who sought his head, was his equal in daring and love of adventure, and only the Frenchman's uncanny woodcraft and Indian aidés allowed him to survive the duel they carried on through two hectic years.

XII—BLACK DAYS AT CHIGNECTO

IT WAS now clear that Winslow's advice, not to yield on any point to the peace-proposing savages, had been wisely given. They had helped the French in their ambush, and on the 6th of September a number of them were discovered skulking near the Fort. The next day more were seen and armed Acadians accompanied them. The imprisoned inhabitants petitioned Monckton to consider their case. They asked what they were to be subjected to, as they had answered the summons to appear at the fort without making any arrangements with their families. They were enduring hardships unspeakable. All had fled to the forests and had little to subsist on. They asked that the English get word to the women and children that there was nothing in particular to fear, also that they be given something better than bare boards to sleep on and a chance to get a change of clothing as they were suffering from cold and vermin. Governor Charles Lawrence was a different type of man from his predecessors. He ruled with an iron hand, but tempered his decisions with justice. After Beausejour had fallen, he summoned delegates from among the Acadians at Annapolis, Minas, and Grand Pré, explained to them their predicament, and loss of support, and desired to know if they would take the oath of allegiance or not. The delegates refused to do so. Lawrence and the Council discussed the question and resolved that the only remedy was to

remove them from the country as in a province so sparsely settled they would remain a constant menace. This point was, of course, exaggerated. Nearly every authentic writer has dwelt on the peace-loving dispositions of these simple farmers. Their motives in refusing to take the oath were to safeguard their future in case the country changed rulers again, a common enough occurrence. Had the English been patient and carried on they would have had splendid pioneers for their farmlands and, eventually, the loyalty of these peasants. Instead, with the blunt ruthlessness typical of Monckton and Lawrence, they committed the biggest crime ever perpetuated in the name of a British sovereign. Monckton's letter of July 31st, announced the ruling of himself and council, and continued: "And as to those about the Isthmus, all of whom were in arms and therefore entitled to no favour from the Government, It is determined to begin with them first, And for this purpose orders are given for a sufficient number of Transports to be sent up the Bay with all possible dispatch for taking them on board; by whom you will receive particular instructions as to the manner of their being disposed of, the places of their destination, and every other thing necessary for that purpose.

"In the meantime it will be proper to keep this measure as secret as possible, as well, to prevent their attempting to escape as to carry off their Cattle, &c; and the better to Effect this you will endeavor to fall upon some stratagem to get the Men, both Young and Old, especially the heads of the families, into your power and detain them till the Transports shall arrive, so as that they may be ready to be shipped off; for when this is done it is not much

to be feared that the Women and Children will attempt to go away and carry off the Cattle; But lest they should it will not only be very proper to secure all their Shalops, Boats, Canoes and every other vessel you can lay your hands upon; But also to send out parties to all Suspected Roads and places from time to time that they may thereby be intercepted.

"As their whole Stock of Cattle and Corn is forfeited to the Crown by their Rebellion and must be secured and applied towards a Reimbursement of the Expense, the Government will be at in Transporting them out of the Country, care must be had that nobody make any bargain for the purchasing of them under any colour or pretence whatsoever, if they do the sale will be void; for the Inhabitants have now (since the order of the Council) no property in them, nor will they be allowed to carry away the least thing, but their Ready Money & Household Furniture. . . ."

He then directed that as the French of the other parts of Acadia had similar orders, no doubt attempts would be made to drive cattle to Louisburg by way of Tatamagouche, and ordered that a party be sent to that place to prevent such a course, adding that any Frenchman at Chignecto would serve as a guide. He mentions the 832 barrels of flour found in the stores at Beausejour and says they are to be used to victual the transports, for the benefit of the French Inhabitants. The same is to be done with the beans and pease. Rations per person were to be one pound of flour and one-half pound of bread a day and one pound of beef per week, bread and beef to be forwarded from Halifax. He closes with orders to destroy

everything owned by the Acadians at Tatamagouche.

On the 8th of August he wrote again to Monckton, telling of Braddock's defeat, and saying that the Transports were about ready to go to Chignecto. He orders the destruction of all the villages on the north and northwest sides of the Isthmus and the use of any methods to distress the Acadians who concealed themselves in the woods. Care must be taken, however, he insisted, "to preserve the stock and the harvest which could be gathered in safety by men from Fort Cumberland." He asks that "especial watch be kept that the Indians do not drive off the French cattle." Captain Cobb was instructed to bring to Halifax all the arms taken from the inhabitants as well as two of the six-pounders used at Beausejour. "After the French are removed, no one is to take possession of their lands until a Plan of the whole is made and Terms of Encouragement arranged for English settlers." Bricks and Lime were sent by vessels to Chignecto for the repair of the Forts, and Lawrence requests that Fort Cumberland in particular be made as strong as possible. In order to prevent any rising of the remaining villages, he orders that the settlements of "Jediack" and "Ramshiek" be destroyed. His instructions for the deportation were:

"That the Inhabitants may not have it in their power to return to this Province nor to join in strengthening the French of Canada or Louisburg; It is resolved that they be dispersed among his Majesty's Colony's upon the Continent of America, and that those of the Chignecto District, who have always been the most Rebellious, shall be removed to the greatest distance.

"For this purpose I send you the following Transport Vessels, viz.:

Persons, @ 2 to a ton		Tons
392	The ship *Union*, Jon. Crathorne, Ma'r.....	196
340	The Ship *Prince Frederick*, Wm. Trattles..	170
260	The ship *Cornwallis*, Wm. Ball.....	130
198	The Brig *Two Brothers*, James Best.....	99
192	Sloop *Endeavor*, James Nickels.....	96
189	Schooner *Jolly Philip*, Jno. Waite.....	94½
126	Schooner *Boscawen*, Jas. Newell.....	63
181	Sloop *Dolphin*, David Mumford.....	90½
174	Sloop *Dove*, Samuel Forbest.....	87
115	Schooner *Ranger*, Nathl. Munroe.....	57½
190	Schooner *Boscawen*, David Bigham.....	95
2,357		1,178½

The *Prince Frederick*, *Jolly Philip*, and *Cornwallis* were to go to Georgia. The *Two Brothers*, *Endeavor*, and *Dolphin* to South Carolina, and the *Boscawen*, of Bigham, and the *Union*, to Philadelphia. If any inhabitants were captured or gave themselves up after these mentioned vessels had sailed they were to be placed on any remaining schooner and shipped to North Carolina. Special precautions were to be taken on board the vessels that the Acadians did not attempt to overpower the crews, and a strict watch was to be kept that the French carried no arms on board. If all on hand were easily accommodated the remaining transports were to be sent to Minas.

October 1st, says Surgeon John Thomas, was a dark and stormy night, and eighty-six of the prisoners at Fort Lawrence took advantage of the weather and succeeded in digging under the fort walls without being discovered. They slipped unseen by the guards, and their loss was not known till the next morning when by that time they were far

in the forest. On the 11th of that month the last party of Acadian prisoners were hustled on board the transports for exile to alien lands. They carried 960 unfortunates for South Carolina and Georgia. On the 18th a party from the fort reconnoitred the woods near Tantramar and observed a considerable number of French watching them from a distance. Five days later a party was dispatched, under Lieut. Curtis to get stock from River Hébert. "Rany & Stormy Lieut Curtis with his party up ye River Obare as he was Bringing in a number of Cattle Sheap & Horses was fired upon by a Party of French & Indians. Lieut Curtis ordered his party to persue them; which they did very vigoreously Keeping a Constand Fireing on Both Sides until thay Discovered 100 men more of the Enemy Laying in Ambush for them upon which Curtis & Paṛty retreated Recovered the Dyke on ye mash. Ye Enemy pursued them Sum way but our People kept up so warm a Fire on thare Retreat it Stoped ye Persuers & thay got Safe to ye Fort; this afternoon a Small Party went out from Camp under Command of Ensign Brewer who had a Small Ingagement at a placed Called Olake but no great damage done on Either Side." October 30th "We marched Last Night to Pont De Bute & att a small vilege 3 Miles distant to the Northward we Discovered a Fire upon which we Surrounded ye House & Rushed on it upon which we Received discharge of three Guns, but we entered the House without any hurt, but it proved to be Lieut Curtis and Ensign Brewer with 35 men who ware out from Fort Lawrence to reconnoiter, upon which we turned our Course for Olake; it began to snow about One of ye Clock this morning we marched as far as a large

Brige as we pass over to Tantramar, but ye Day Breaking & the Storm Increasing we Did not think it proper to proceed further & So returned to Camp whare we arrived about 12 Clock much Fatuged."

The work of the New Englanders in pursuing the French "rebels" can be traced easily by reading the diary of Thomas, but there are many incidents that he omitted, detailed by Monckton in his reports. They are, however, in the main of a trivial nature, so we will take up only the most important of the entries by Thomas.

"November 14. Pleasant but cold. We marched about Sun Riseing; 23 Discovered 3 Frenchmen & Fired on them, but they ran to ye Wood so yt we did not recover them; we marched on to Tantramar where we arrived about 11 Clock; we Built Fires Killed some Hoggs & Sheap and Got a Plenty of Roots and Cabbish; went to Cooking & here we Fired at a Small No of French, but thay made Thare Ascape into ye wood; we Continued here all Day."

"November 15. Pleasant Day; we Burnt a Large mass house & 97 Houses more; we met Capt. Stevens with 200 men to Reinforce us; we returned to Westcock at Night, whare we met Capt. Hill with ye regulars Colo Scott major Preble & Several others officers with them & a No of our Troops Came over to us In order to march with us to Memramcook a vilege about 13 miles from Westcock.

"November 16. Lodged at West cock Last Night; this day spent in Killing of Cattle & Cooking & Getting in Redyness to march this Evening.

"November 17. Pleasant Day; we marched Last Night about 11 Clock with 700 men under Command of Colo Scott; we marched all Night;

very bad Travelling; Came to Memramcook about Break of Day; we surrounded about 20 Houses, but they were all Deserted Except one house whare we found 9 women Children, but no man; ye most of them were sick; we Burnt 30 Houses, brought away one woman, 200 Hed of Neat Cattle, 20 Horses; we came away about 10 a.m. marched for Westcock whare we arrived with our cattle about 7 Clock in ye Evening."

The next day this force went to Tantramar where they again killed and cooked a few cattle and "Sum Hoggs." On the 19th the French fired at them from cover and a general exchange of shots took place with no damage observed on either side. They rose at sunrise the next morning and herded their cattle on the trail for Fort Cumberland, halting on the way to fire "Near 50 Houses." The good surgeon left Chignecto on the last day of November. Strangely enough, he in no wise comments on the sad condition of the Acadians. Winslow mentions them frequently as objects of pity. The attack on Minudie is omitted in many accounts of the deportation, probably for shame's sake. The French had a prosperous settlement there. The woods at the back of their little village were filled with game, the water in front teemed with shad, and their fields were easily cleared and very fertile. Their one road lay back through the colony at River Hébert and over the Boar's Back ridge to where the boats crossed Minas Basin. Lieut. Dixon was sent by Monckton to rout the Minudie inhabitants who had never taken part in the troubles of Beausejour at all. The New Englanders crossed to the Minudie shore in the night and formed a ring around the village. As the sun rose, a volley of

musketry roused all and as the French emerged in a panic, they were shot at from all sides, while shouts of "Surrender" filled the air. The hapless people saw that all escape landward was cut off. They knew not what these shooting soldiers might do and so thrust themselves into the water, trying to ford across to Amherst Point. The soldiers followed to the water's edge and made targets of the struggling creatures in the current. Few were taken prisoners, the majority drowning or being killed by musket balls.

Brook Watson, still at the Fort with Huston, had much to do with the deporting of the Acadians. In his account he mentions his errand to Bay Verte. "Was directed to proceed to Baie Verte, then a considerable and flourishing settlement, there to await further orders, which I received the following day, to collect and send to Beausejour for embarkation, all the women and children to be found in that district and on leaving the town to fire it; this painful task performed, I was afterwards employed in victualling the transports for their reception; the season was now far advanced before the embarkation took place, which caused much hurry, and I fear some families were divided and sent to different parts of the globe, notwithstanding all possible care was taken to prevent it." With a sympathetic note, he continues: "These wretched people, given up by France without their consent, were for adhering to these principles which the liberal mind must deem praiseworthy, plucked from their native soil, cast out by the nation who claimed their obedience, and rejected from that from which they sprang, and to whose religion, customs and laws they had evinced the strongest attachment. Many of the transports

were ordered to France, about thirteen hundred perishing by shipwreck on the voyage; those who arrived France would not receive. They were landed at Southampton and other ports. . . ."

"They were an honest, hardworking, sober, industrious people; rarely did quarrels rise among them. In summer the men were continually at work on their farms; in winter they were engaged in cutting wood for fuel and fences, and in hunting; the women spent their time carding, spinning, and weaving wool, flax and hemp, which this country furnished in plenty. These articles with the fur of bear, beaver, otter, fox and marten provided them not only with comfortable but often with tasteful garments. They also procured for them other necessary or useful objects by means of the exchange trade they carried on with the French and English.

"There were few houses without a cask of French wine. They had no other dyes than black and green; but to obtain red, of which they were remarkably fond, they got English red stuffs, which they cut up, ravelled out, carded, spun and wove into strips to adorn the women's dresses. Their country was so rich in provisions that, as I have heard, an ox could be bought for fifty shillings, a sheep for five, and a bushel of wheat for eighteen pence.

"Young men were not encouraged to marry unless the young girl would weave a piece of cloth, and the young man make a pair of wheels. These accomplishments were deemed essential for their marriage settlement, and they hardly needed anything else, for every time there was a wedding the whole village contributed to set up the newly-married couple. They built a house for them, and cleared enough land for their immediate needs; they gave

them live stock and poultry; and nature, seconded by their own labor, soon put them in a position to help others. I have never heard of marital infidelity among them. Their long cold winters were spent in the pleasures of joyous hospitality. As they had plenty of firewood, their houses were always comfortable. Rustic songs and dancing were their principal amusements."

Brook Watson stayed at Fort Cumberland for four years and then went to London, England, and there filled many important and honourable positions. In 1783 he was Commissary General to the British forces in America, Sheriff of London in 1785, Commissary General to the army in Flanders in 1793-95 and Lord Mayor of London in 1796. A few lines in a memoir published in 1824 are eloquent of the man: "Sir Brook was too honest to become very rich, but he lived in good circumstances and died respected."

From the hour of its surrender Fort Gasperaux was a thorn in the side of the English. Boishebert and the Indians made life miserable for the successsive garrisons until they finally forced them to abandon the post. Scarcely were the New Englanders installed in the barracks than one of their number, James Whitcomb, went into the village to get milk. The inhabitants had not been disturbed in the slightest and were very willing to sell provisions. But as Whitcomb passed a wooded knoll, since called "Birch Island," he was shot from ambush by an Indian. This cowardly murder roused the soldiers, but they could not find trace of the skulker. The story is told that after Winslow found the water so bad at the fort he ordered his men to dig a well at a spot near the ramparts.

(This well still supplies the purest of water to thirsty travellers.) While the redcoats were working an Indian crept up in the thick foliage and watched their labour. His covert was a short distance outside the stronghold and as he lay there the Colonel and Major Frye strolled near him discussing plans for the morrow. Winslow decided that he should take a company of men and follow the Gasperaux river for some miles in order to learn something of the country. The redskin, his blood at fever heat with plans of ambush, raced back to his fellows and explained their opportunity. Two miles from the fort the river doubles on itself for nearly half a mile, so as to form a bend known as the "Ox Bow." The Indians, a formidable band in numbers, resolved to close in behind the soldiers once they entered the "Bow." With the river on three sides, and the redskins across their only retreat, the New Englanders would be at tremendous odds.

One of the savages, however, was a Mohawk from Upper Canada. He had once fought for the English, and as he heard the plans for the morning he stole away, and when the soldiers marched out at dawn an Indian rose noiseless as the sun's rays before them. With a stick he sketched in the sand the trap that lay ahead. Winslow thanked the red man with all warmth, but the Mohawk, wary of the fate that would be served him should he linger in that territory, departed for his tribe.

After the Acadians were deported and their homes so ruthlessly destroyed, the Micmacs were tigers in their vengeance. They lurked outside the range of the fort guns. The fuel supply of the Fort was exhausted before the snows were gone and wood parties had to be sent out. These were always fairly

large in number, but on the 26th of February, while Lieut. Bowen and thirty men were at Indian Point gathering fuel, they were assailed by a much larger party of yelling redmen. All fought like wounded bears, the English seeking only to gain the Fort. Nine of the Massachusetts men, Sergt. Mackay and eight privates, were killed and scalped before the survivors were near enough to the Fort to summon aid. Two hundred men were at once sent to Gasperaux, but the band of ambushers had fled and it was unsafe to follow. All the spring the English were forced to maintain the utmost vigilance, and when the trees were in full leaf again, and soft grass deadened the footfall, the fears of the garrison were doubled. Boishebert was often seen, sometimes arrayed in a gorgeous white uniform trimmed with gold lace. He pursued Colonel Scott at one time and succeeded in cutting off two redcoats, but seven Indians were killed in the melee. On September 15th, 1756, the Governor in Council decided to vacate both Fort Monckton and Fort Lawrence, strengthening Fort Cumberland by their garrisons. This was done, and neither of the abandoned forts was ever again occupied.

XIII—THE DUELS OF BOISHEBERT AND DIXON

GUERRILLA warfare was carried on for three years by the rangers under Boishebert, and the English constantly hunted for the escaped Acadians. Col. Goreham's Rangers were a very active body in this work, and the story is told that during the summer of 1756 his men were on a scouting expedition in the Maccan district. On their way back to the Fort they saw four emaciated Acadians who had ventured into the open in search of something to eat. The four wanderers sat down on a dyke to rest and the English, coming up from the rear, took them by surprise. The officers with the party turned their backs and the soldiers shot and scalped the Acadians before they could gain their feet. It is related that these rangers in one day brought in twenty-five scalps so taken, pretending they were Micmac trophies, and demanded the bounties paid for such. Captain Huston, who had charge of the military chest, protested strongly against such vile work and when forced to carry out the orders of his superior, prophesied that the curse of God would fall on all who persisted in such evil deeds. His prophecy came true in many cases, and one of the leaders in the red work, Captain Danks, took sick in a boat bound for Fort Edward, was dragged half-dead from it and thrown on shore. After scant attention he died and was

buried without ceremony at a place still called "Danks' Point."

Boishebert and his band descended on Baie Verte killing seven English and taking one prisoner, besides burning a vessel of 200 tons upon the stocks, and a schooner lying at anchor. Two soldiers of the garrison, strayed in the heavy mist of early morning, and stumbled into the dykes of the Tantramar River before they realized their direction. Before they could regain the Fort slope they were overtaken by the Micmacs, one soldier killed and scalped, the other taken a prisoner. One Sunday morning, when all seemed peaceful around Chignecto, five soldiers left the Fort and strolled up the ridge, some historians say in search of Mayflowers. Whatever their errand, they had got as far as the site of the French settlement of Jolicure when the Indians swooped on them from ambush, as they crossed a small bridge. The New Englanders, though their case was hopeless, fought as only white men can, and before they crumpled under the red men's hatchets the stream below ran red. From that day the place has borne the name of "Bloody Ridge."

At this time the Dublin Irishman, Major Thomas Dixon, and Boishebert were having many of their forest duels of wit and daring. After a year of futile pursuit and attack, Dixon learned that Boishebert was on his way to Quebec and he resolved to entrap him after the Frenchman had deemed he was far enough from Chignecto to travel in safety. It was in the autumn and a perfect "Indian summer" made the venture of the English a very pleasant outing. All the gorgeous colourings of our hardwoods enhanced the beauty of the hillsides as they skirted lakes, crossed rivers and paralleled

the trail their quarry had taken. After a few days on the way, Dixon put on all speed and at night saw the glare of Boishebert's camp fire far ahead on an island in the Miramichi now called "Beaubear" after Beaubear, a French officer, who once had a small post there. Dixon's party, though worn with their hurrying, hastened to cover the intervening miles, made a cordon about the island and rushed to the attack. Only smouldering ashes remained to prove that the astute Boishebert had really been encamped there. The Frenchman's alertness had not failed him and he literally vanished. There was nothing left for Dixon to do but turn back on the trail. Fort Cumberland was a long way off and the Indian summer had ended with a snapping frost. Soon the days were intensely cold and snowy squalls whipped their faces. Their provisions had given out and no food was obtainable. As the party reached Memramcook, they saw a house the wreckers had missed, some distance from the village site. Eagerly they searched it for scraps of food, and found only a green hide. This they boiled to make a soup which they drank greedily. Fighting determinedly against these odds, they struggled back to within ten miles of their haven and there the command gave out. Two of the strongest started to make the last lap for succour. One died, but the other staggered to the fort gates with his tale of woe, and soon stout sledges were racing back over the snow to bring in the famished ones.

This narrow escape did not daunt the Irishman. Boishebert was back again in the spring and their fued was renewed with a vigour that meant the finish of one or the other. Dixon was told by an

Indian that Boishebert had his camp at a place called "Barnum's Tongue." He took twenty picked men and an Acadian guide and started on a detour that would enable him to ambush the place. The French guide led them by way of Point de Bute and Jolicure, thence to Midgic. Once more the wily Boishebert was not to be caught napping, and only a deserted camp fell into the Englishman's hands. Hurrying forward again, they found the tide at the Aulac too high to ford and retraced their steps to a crossing at an Acadian aboideaux. They were hardly in the bush again when the devilish yells of the Micmacs resounded and Boishebert and his band fell on the redcoats like demons. Every man in Dixon's party fell by knife or tomahawk, the Acadian guide being the last to die. Dixon, magnificent in battle, was ringed about by his assailants but fought like a lion. A bullet pierced his shoulder and another wounded him in the thigh, a dozen tomahawks grazed his skull, but he did not yield until Boishebert himself ordered back his men and asked Dixon to surrender as a soldier. The intrepid Irishman did so, and with the musket balls still in his flesh was taken on an Indian trail, via Aboushagan and Shediac, to Quebec. There a French surgeon extracted the bullets, and as Dixon never flinched from the lance, the doctor could not refrain from expressing his admiration of such courage and fortitude. Dixon recovered from his wounds and when the English appeared before Quebec he was sent with other prisoners to Three Rivers. From there he escaped to Boston and was soon back at Chignecto. The soldiers from the Fort found the shambles in the bush where Dixon's party had died so valiantly and buried the bodies of

OFFICERS' BARRACKS AT FORT CUMBERLAND

View from Powder Magazine

friend and foe without attempting much identification, so terribly were they slashed and torn. Dixon's name was among the list of slain. Therefore, he was given a warm reception on his return. He remained at the Isthmus, married there, took a prominent part in the defeat of the rebels in 1775, and left many descendants who still reside at Chignecto Isthmus.

In 1759 Boishebert had gone to Quebec and the Indians tired of fighting. The lot of the escaped Acadians became doubly hard. They dared not establish in the fertile grounds within marching distance of Fort Cumberland, and the rough forest land beyond offered little beyond a hiding place. In desperation at last they turned to the Fort and threw themselves on the mercy of Colonel Frye, then in charge. In November Alexander Brussard, Simon Martin, Jean Bass and Joseph Brussard arrived, and acted as spokesmen for 190 Acadians of Memramcook and Petitcodiac. He asked for food and shelter and Frye agreed to help them as much as possible and told them to occupy abandoned buildings about the Fort. Some of these may have been discarded when the conditions for housing the garrison were improved. An old account in an officer's diary tells of the trials of the 43rd Regiment when stationed there. This officer states that they left the place the 12th of October, 1757, and the men were paraded early through some misunderstanding. They were kept waiting all day on the slope below the fort in a freezing wind. The mud was ankle deep and the soldiers had to march back and forth to keep from perishing. This officer writes that the fort had one gate with a drawbridge and sally-port "and on the curtain is a long battery

and barbet." Six, nine and twelve pounders formed the artillery, with nine-inch mortars and cohorns. Much land had been taken in and surrounded by stout palisades, with loop holes bored for musketry, and the glacis extended around outside of them, this addition, which was called the spur, being a barrier against Indian attacks. Within this enclosure better barracks had been erected for the quartering of the troops as well as several work shops and store houses. An entry in the diary discloses that the French had peeled and coloured several birch logs to represent cannon and had mounted them on platforms easily seen from Fort Lawrence. Two days after the Memramcook French had surrendered, Peter Suretz and John and Michael Burk arrived with requests from 700 Acadians from Miramichi, Richibucto and Buctouche. Frye agreed to look after at least 230 of them on condition that all report to the Fort in the spring. These French had twelve vessels which they had captured from the English during their outlaw period, and many accounts are given of daring attacks made by these desperate farmers. The Governor at Quebec had commissioned and fitted out one Broussard, he who led so many raids on the English and took Hay prisoner at the seige of Beausejour, as a privateer to take toll of British shipping in the Bay of Fundy. His activities led Monckton to make an excursion to the St. John River for the purpose of wiping out any encampments of the enemy or escaped Acadians. The fugitive peasants were not safe in any environment and ill-fortune seemed to pursue them for a century. The bolder ones from Beaubassin had been sent to Isle St. Jean by La Loutre, but the majority had fled,

after a few months of crowded existence with the settlers at Aulac and Tantramar, to the St. John River.

Monckton sailed on his expedition the 11th of September, 1758, and arrived at Partridge Island, at the River mouth, on the 18th. He sent Cobb and Rogers, his two most capable officers, on ahead to reconnoitre. They reported seeing two or three persons lurking in the bush, apparently acting as sentries. Monckton went on into the harbour at this word and from there despatched Cobb to Chignecto to get Danks' company of Rangers as reinforcements, also nine French prisoners that had been taken. Monckton's force landed and scouted about, but only found a few tracks. The ruins of the old French fort were restored, barracks raised, and the place made habitable for a garrison. The post was to be used as headquarters to command the river and harbour against use by the privateers or other marauders. Six hundred men were employed in fitting up the defence and work progressed rapidly. Each day excursions were sent out in an endeavour to locate possible camps of Acadians, and on October 15th Goreham's Rangers returned with Disenclave, an Acadian priest and seventy men, women, and children that they had surprised and taken at a small village. Cobb had been busy bringing supplies and lumber to the Fort and now he was detailed to take some of the French prisoners as pilots and attempt to get his sloop above the falls that menaced river expeditions. Rogers accompanied him in another sloop, but struck a rock near the rapids and sunk, the soldiers on board and crew being saved after desperate work on the part of Cobb. On the 2nd of November they passed some

deserted French houses, and two days later came on the village of Grimrose, founded entirely by Acadians from Beaubassin. These Chignecto fugitives had seen the approach of the English and had fled, taking their cattle with them. The houses, fifty in all, were burned, and the full barns made a great bonfire for the night, containing the harvest that these industrious peasants had garnered after but a few years in new land. The English systematically destroyed everything that could have the slightest value and re-embarked. They saw where birch bark canoes had been made at the river side, and were on the lookout for such craft. The force landed at night four miles below the portage of Grimrose and soldiers who went ashore found some cattle which were at once killed and taken as supplies. The next day Danks was sent to Jemseg, a settlement the French had abandoned on account of spring freshets, to destroy all buildings there and any cattle he might find, thus depriving the Acadians of any possible haven for the winter. Danks destroyed Villeray's also, another collection of houses, and there discovered four Frenchmen trying to drive off a herd of forty cattle. The English captured the herd, but the Acadians escaped. During the entire operations 150 houses and barns were burned and 130 prisoners taken. Some of the Acadians informed the English that Broussard was at Miramichi resting while a wound in his heel he had received in an attack on Danks' Rangers at Fort Cumberland, healed. A Lieutenant and five privates were lost by the English during their excursion. These had straggled from the main column in the brush and were captured by bush-rangers. Monckton also learned that 200 St. John

Indians had been overlooking their camp the first night they anchored near St. John, but that the chief would not allow a single shot to be fired or any hostile act committed. Major Scott found Broussard's privateer unrigged in a creek near the harbour and it was at once fitted and taken to Halifax. Thus ended Monckton's tour of destruction.

Longfellow's tale of Evangeline does not convey in all its poignancy one-half the real suffering and misery that followed the French. They died by the wayside in alien southern states. Others made their way by long tortuous routes, that caused the death of many more, back to their deserted farms, to find them in other hands and themselves looked on as worse than dogs. For nine years the fort at Windsor housed Acadian prisoners, and their lot was not an enviable one. Ships carried thousands to France. Thirteen hundred were drowned on the way by wrecks and mishandled boats, and the survivors were refused a landing by the Government of France. It is greatly to the credit of La Loutre that on his release from prison he laboured tirelessly in the interests of the Acadians until his death. They were settled on islands off the coast of France, and, after the intervention of La Loutre and his insistent urging, were given better holdings inland. Many accounts are given of individual experiences during the deportation. At Shepody, as the settlers fled, a girl of twelve years of age was separated from her relatives and left to the mercy of some vagrant Indians. With them and by her own resources she existed in the forest until of age when she emerged to venture to the English houses at her old home. She was cordially received and lived there the rest of her life. This woman's name was

"Goutre," and she always talked of "Le grand dérangement" that left her alone in the world. She told of a log building in the depth of the forest that the Acadians used as a storehouse for bulky valuables, and of many burying their gold, accumulated through years of trading at the Forts and with fur buyers. Only one known instance can be related of any of this long-hidden wealth being discovered. A family, named Teakles, while at work cultivating land found a box of gold. It was tarnished badly, but alum cleaned the treasure and one pioneer was enriched for life. It is interesting to note that there are also legends of pirate hordes buried at Shepody rocks, and excavations for over forty years prove that many believe the accounts to be authentic.

One afternoon a Frenchman named Belliveau came from the forest surrounding Lower Settlement, now Hillsborough, and applied for shelter at an English home. He told of the New Englanders driving his people from their homes, of the flames that destroyed their all. The fugitives of Petitcodiac, where he had lived, had hidden at a glade far back in the woods, but the crowing of the cocks they had taken with them, revealed their refuge to the English searching parties. Belliveau, at the time of the raid, had been north on a hunting excursion and so escaped capture. Since then he had existed by hunting and fishing. His coming proved a godsend to the English settlers, as they were on the verge of a very hard year, and the newcomer taught them how to snare rabbits and partridge as well as moose, how to trap furbearers, to unearth bears from winter dens, to catch fish in weirs, spear salmon by torchlight, and how to make maple sugar.

They were in want of salt, so he felled big pines, hollowed them and filled them with salt water. The water evaporated leaving the needed article in the log. Belliveau lived to be nearly one hundred, and was always willing to tell of his great adventures. His descendants are now the principal inhabitants of Belliveau village, New Brunswick.

Another veteran who escaped the New England dragnet was Zedore Gould, an Acadian who lived at the Gasperaux River, near Fort Gasperaux. He fled through the forest and made his way, with others, to a secluded spot on the Miramichi River. There he and his kind survived until the general surrender four years later, when Gould chose to still keep out of the English clutches. He had reasons for his action. When Coulon de Villières led his force of Rangers and Indians through the snow in the depth of winter to attack Noble's unsuspecting soldiers at Grand Pré, Gould joined them as a volunteer and played his part in the midnight assault. He was then twenty years of age, and never did he forget a detail of that long march on snowshoes, the frosty nights when they encamped among the snow-laden evergreens and built great fires in their scooped hollows, round which they huddled and slept fitfully. Their route was via Bay Verte, thence to Tatamagouche, and from there overland to the Shubenacadie River head. Gould used to relate how on their arrival at the Acadian Meloncon, they found a wedding in progress, and the whole band was regaled with cider, cheese and rolls of black bread. Two puncheons of cider were disposed of before the force went, this beverage being served by two of Meloncon's daughters. Their enterprise was thus heartily sanctioned by the

Acadians who were supposed to be strictly neutral, and the wedding scene, with all its attendant gaiety, did not soften the least the hearts of the intending ambushers. Gould, after years of wandering, ventured to Minudie and became an industrious tenant of Governor DesBarres.

Bragg's regiment relieved at Fort Cumberland, and in 1759 the mines at Joggins were opened for fuel. That fall, on November 3rd, a great gale drove in the high tides from Fundy until they poured over all the marshes and swept hay and barns to sea. Besides the destruction to the farmlands, the water carried out to sea 700 cords of firewood, fuel for the winter use of the garrison, that had been piled on the slope below the Fort ten feet above the highest dyke top. In July of this year representatives from New England applied for grants of land at Chignecto, and on the 19th a committee from Connecticut, consisting of Messrs. Willoughby, Kimball, Mott and Starr, were given a vessel with which to visit the Isthmus and inspect the available territory. They appeared satisfied after their visit, but in September Mott came back and brought others with him who were interested, and they demanded considerable changes in the grants that were given. Through delays and argument the project finally was abandoned. In October extensive grants were given to the New Englanders and others. The Township of Cumberland was laid out to comprise 100,000 acres, bounded by Chignecto Basin, Aulac River, La Planche River and Baie Verte. Grants of 200 acres each were allotted to eighty-one persons of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Five hundred acres of the Acadian holdings near the Forts were reserved and shares given to Colonel Frye, Major

Indicott, and the captains, ensigns, lieutenants, surgeon and chaplain of the forces. In May, 1760, La Vallière's Isle was granted the engineer, Winckworth Tonge. Five hundred acres of the village and near Fort Cumberland were given in divisions, to Joshua Winslow, John Huston, Bennoi Danks, William Allan, John Bishop, Sennacherib Martin, Samuel Jacobs, Abiel Richardson, Charles Cavannagh, and Brook Watson. Four years after, 8,000 acres at Minudie were given to Jos. Frederick Willet DesBarres, and 20,000 acres to Hon. Michael Franklin at River Hébert. Amherst's first grant was 1,000 acres to John Jackson on the 10th of January, 1765, and the second was to Michael Head, a local Irish magnate, a Justice of the Peace, and a character of note. By 1762 there were thirty-five families at Cumberland township, 600 acres cultivated, 12,000 acres of marsh and 87,800 acres of woodland. The number of families at Amherst is not given, but there were 300 acres cleared, 15,000 acres of marsh and 84,700 acres of woodland. The deserted Acadian farms were, of course, the first to be occupied, and Acadians who were drifting back, together with imported slaves, did most of the work, so that we find on March 22nd, 1764, there were 388 Acadians employed on farms on the Fort Cumberland ridge, working for wages.

One of La Loutre's active allies in his pro-British campaign was Father Manach, and this priest had charge of the colony of refugees at Miramichi. He is mentioned in a letter from Colonel Frye to the Governor of New England, dated Fort Cumberland, March 7th, 1860. An extract from this epistle reads:

"I informed Your Excellency in my last, of the

10th of December, of the submission of the French peasants residing at Miramichi, Richebucto, and Bouctou, with a number of the principle men of those places, arrived here, when they renewed their submission in a formal manner, by subscribing to articles (drawn suitable to the case), whereby, among other things, they have obliged themselves and the people they represent, to come to Bay Verte, with all their effects and shipping, as early in the spring as possible, in order to be disposed of as Governor Lawrence shall direct. With the French priest came two Indian chiefs, viz. Paul Lawrence and Augustine Michael. Lawrence tells me he was a prisoner in Boston, and lived with Mr. Henshaw, a blacksmith; he is a chief of the tribe that before the war lived at Leheave; Augustine is chief of a tribe at Richebucto. I have received their submission for themselves and tribes to His Britannic Majesty, and sent them to Halifax for the terms by Governor Lawrence. I have likewise received the submissions of two other chiefs, whom I dealt with as those before mentioned, and was in hopes (which I mentioned to Mr. Manach) I had no more treaties to make with savages; but he told me I was mistaken, for there would be a great many more here upon the same business as soon as the spring hunting was over; and upon my inquiring how many, he gave me a list of fourteen chiefs, including those already mentioned, most of whom he said would come. I was surprised to hear of such a number of Indian chiefs in this part of America; and Mr. Manach further told me that they were all of one nation, and known by the name of Mickmacks; that they were very numerous, amounting to near three thousand souls; that he had learned their

language since he had been amongst them, and found so much excellence in it, that he was well persuaded that if the beauties of it were known in Europe, there would be seminaries erected for the propagation of it. How that might be, is better known to him than to those who know nothing of the language; but I think that I may venture to say, that if there be so many Indians as he says there are, I know this province, as it abounds very plentiful in furs, may reap a vast advantage by them, provided Canada returned not into the hands of the French."

XIV—MISUNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE MICMACS

THE DIFFICULTIES the English were having with the Indians were often caused by incidents of which those in command were entirely ignorant. Many unofficial accounts survive where hunters and settlers in outlying districts, chancing upon small parties of the redskins and harbouring ancient grudges for wrongs fancied or real, took advantage of the opportunity and shot even squaws and children. An incident set down in the diary of an officer of the 43rd regiment will suffice to explain other awkward situations that arose frequently. The account is dated October 17th, 1727.

"The old garrison embarked to-day for Halifax, and with them two Indian captives, a brother and sister, who passed by the names of Clare and Anselm Thomas; they are of the Micmac nation; she is comely and not disagreeable; her complexion was not so fair as the British, nor yet as dark as the French in general are; her features were large, with sprightly black eyes, hair of the same colour; thin lips and well-shaped nose; I believe she may be twenty-three or twenty-four years of age; not taller than five feet five inches, somewhat Dutch built, but very sprightly, and had much of the French in her manner and behaviour; she was as different from a great masculine squaw at Fort Cumberland as any two creatures of the same species could be. This

last female I would have given some account of before, but though I saw her often I asked no questions about her, as she appeared to me to be, and what I naturally concluded she was, a mulatto. Their family have been converted to what is commonly called Christianity, as may partly appear by their names; but I have a stronger reason for this suggestion, by their having crucifixes. Clare had one of silver, that hung from a large bunch of beads, which she wore around her neck; Anselm's was of wood, and hung by a leather string from a buttonhole of his coat; their clothing they got from the officers of the garrison, except a turban the female had on her head and a pair of paltry pendants from her ears; these, I am told, were her own. When I first went into the room where they were confined the sister rose up from her seat, approached me eagerly and saluted me after the French manner. The brother, who was neither fair nor so tall, came towards me in a fearful skulking manner, grasped one of my hands and shook it with great emotion, accompanied with an unintelligible jargon; she was well proportioned and seemed to be active, but he has not the engaging openness of countenance of Clare, nor could I discern the smallest resemblance between them. These Indians were not very talkative; I spoke to them in French and they answered me, but what they had said was so low and thick that I could not understand them; I am told their language was a mixture of their own mother tongue and of French; in a second visit, which my curiosity led me to make, Clare made a sign to me for pen, ink and paper; these I accordingly produced for her, and she instantly filled one side of it with writing of characters, which were to me

unintelligible; I have it now before me, and though there are some letters in it apparently similar to part of our alphabet, yet it is utterly impossible to make any discovery from it. Some months ago this man and woman, with two other brothers, came to within a mile of the garrison under a flag of truce; and an officer with an interpreter was immediately sent out to inquire their errand, and to invite them in, which they accordingly accepted of. They said they belonged to a settlement at Panock, in the county of Lunenburg, which lies to the eastward of us, about three or four and twenty leagues, and that they were sent by their father to treat in behalf of their family and the rest of their tribes; that they were desirous of burying the hatchet, and becoming true friends to the English, with whom they now hoped to set a final period to all animosities, and, if we did not choose to trust or employ them as their allies, prayed that they may be reputed and treated thereafter at least as neutral. So eager were they to be confided in that Anselm and Clare voluntarily proposed to continue here as hostages, while their brothers should go to Panock for their father and one or two other chiefs of their nation, the better to convince the English of their sincerity. Having got a favourable answer and reception, the two brothers accordingly departed from the fort with some trifling presents, and directed their course towards Lunenburg, in order to procure, through the channel of some acquaintances they had there, a British escort to conduct them either back to this garrison or to Halifax; in their journey they called at Panock and upon their favourable report to their father, he and two other chiefs accompanied them toward the German settlement before mentioned; but

unluckily in their march thither they were waylaid by an accidental party of our people who knew nothing about them, nor the errand they were going about; in this affair the father of Anselm fell and the rest betook themselves to flight and the party not pursuing immediately, as they yet did not know the number of the Indians, gave the old chief time to recollect himself and escape also. This had such an effect on the Sachems and their sompanions, who concluded it to be the result of treachery, that they thought it in vain to pursue their solicitations, and, no doubt, vowed revenge at a proper season, persuaded that the English were a faithless people; they resolved to return to their habitations and remain quiet until they should know the fate of Clare and Anselm; these circumstances being yet unknown to the commanding officer here, except an imperfect account brought within this fortnight, by a sloop from Fort Edward. It is customary with the Indians upon the earliest glimpse of a flash from an enemy's fire to fall flat upon the ground, as if killed; and after they have heard the report they spring to briskly, and return the salute, followed by a shout, and then run off; but by what I can learn these people had no arms, or, if they had, being surprised and few in number, they thought it better to retire. The report reached us, viz., that a scouting party of the enemy had been waylaid near Lunenburg; that one old man was killed, this was supposed to be the father of these captives, whom the rest carried off before our people could venture upon a pursuit, etc., and the two brothers, not returning pursuant to their promise, it was concluded they must have been the suspected enemy and therefore it was resolved that Anselm and Clare should be

detained and brought to Halifax, there to be disposed as the Governor should think proper."

Nothing further is recorded of Clare and Anselm, so it is probable that the Governor saw fit to release them, no doubt laden with presents, to relate to their tribe the real facts attendant to their case. Stragglers from the fort or settlement were still in fear of Indian ambush when in 1761 an English trader was abandoned by a cowardly captain, as the former was on shore trading with Redskins. This trader was at Nepisiguit and did not know the country. Consequently he had to rely on Acadians whom he discovered in secluded spots. These introduced him in turn to Indians who guided the lone white man down the coast until they came near the Isthmus when his escort attempted to make a short cut inland to Tantramar. The trader and his guide were lost for six days, subsisting on rabbits, and then the Indian went on in hope of discovering some way out. The Englishman after a time decided that he had been abandoned once more and made a desperate attempt to find his way out of the tangled growth. He was near exhaustion when settlers from the Tantramar district, led by the Indian, discovered him and took him to their homes. The faithfulness of this red man proved that their repeated requests for Treaty were genuine. And later that year the Treaty was made at Halifax, where all arrangements for trading were included. In Haliburton's "History of Nova Scotia" we find the table of prices then established, which reads:

"That a pound of the best Spring Beaver be valued at Five Shillings, and that Two Pounds of Spring Beaver be equal to Three Pounds of Fall Beaver.

"That an Otter Skin be equal to one pound of Spring Beaver.

"That a Fisher Skin be equal to one pound of Spring Beaver.

"That Six Mink Skins be equal to one pound of Spring Beaver.

"That One Bear Skin be equal to one pound and one-third of Spring Beaver.

"That One Red Fox Skin be equal to half a pound of Spring Beaver.

"That One Black Fox Skin be equal to two pounds of Spring Beaver.

"That One Silver Fox be equal to two and a half pounds of Spring Beaver.

"That Ten Muskrats be equal to One Pound of Spring Beaver.

"That Seal Skins from 3½ ft. long to 12 ft. long be valued at from 8d to 3s 4d.

"That One Moose Skin be equal to 1½ Spring Beaver.

"That a Cat Skin be equal to two pounds of Spring Beaver.

"That Ten Ermine Skins be equal to one pound of Spring Beaver.

"That Six pounds of Plumes or Feathers be equal to one pound of Spring Beaver.

"That a large Blanket be sold for two pounds of Spring Beaver.

"That Two Gallons of Rum be sold for one pound of Spring Beaver.

"That two and a half Gallons of Molasses be sold for one pound of Spring Beaver.

"That thirty pounds of Flour and fourteen pounds of Pork be sold for one pound of Spring Beaver.

"That two yards of Stroud be sold for three pounds of Spring Beaver, and that all other lines of merchandise be regulated according to the foregoing."

After this treaty there were still unfriendly Indians in the upper reaches of the St. John River and it was not until the 24th of September, 1778, that a Treaty of Peace was made that included

representatives of all the Maritime Red men. This Treaty was signed at St. John Harbour by Governor Franklin and twenty-six Indian chiefs. Michael Arjiman, Chief, and Barnard Cataup and Joseph Portes, Captains, signed the Treaty on behalf of the Micmacs of Chignecto. Thus ended Indian hostilities.

The final settling of the Acadians about the Isthmus was not without further trouble. Abetted by French renegades they had acquired Indian canoes and a daring that verged on recklessness. In April, 1759, they were desperate from want after the long winter. Venturing into Chignecto Basin they cruised about until they learned that two vessels were at anchor at Gindstone Island. One was the armed schooner *Monckton*, which continually patrolled the Fundy coast to ward off roaming hostile craft, the other was a transport loaded with supplies for the troops and storekeepers at Fort Cumberland. This vessel had just come from Halifax. During the night of the 4th of April the Acadians manœuvred their light canoes close to the transport and swarmed on deck, taking the prize without a casualty. Their booty consisted of beef, pork, flour, bread, rice, peas, rum, wine, sugar, lemons and beer, which surely must have been manna to the starving fugitives. Besides these there were shoes, stockings, shirts, blankets, and dress woolens, which were as highly appreciated by the ill-clad refugees. Emboldened by such an easy victory, the Acadians manned their capture and made a determined effort to take the *Monckton*, which only escaped by flight. The French pursued with bulldog tenacity for five hours and one was killed and two wounded on the deck of the patrol. The

transport was later ransomed from the Acadians for £1,500, though none of her cargo was recovered. Then followed the general surrender to the Fort and for a time a lull in Acadian prosecution. Belcher, who succeeded Lawrence as Governor, was very drastic in his treatment of the unfortunates still in the Province and bent every effort to have them deported to France. Rumours were always rife that the Acadians would join with the Indians in a concerted attempt to capture Nova Scotia whenever forces arrived from Europe. Early in the summer of 1762, a Frenchman arrived at Newfoundland with four ships and captured St. John's as well as the English fishing fleet. News of this augmented Belcher's fears and he issued orders for all to be on the alert. Then the Council of the Province made a formal address to Belcher and laid down six reasons why the French should be immediately removed.

1. From the insolence of the Indians and the threatening of the French, there is the highest reason to believe that the designs of the enemy were more extensive than what was carried to a successful issue.

2. That such prisoners as could have escaped would undoubtedly have taken arms with the enemy had the latter appeared on the coast.

3. That these people, seeing the English daily in possession of the lands forfeited and formerly occupied by themselves, will forever regret their loss, and will take favourable opportunity to regain them.

4. That their religion, wherein they demonstrate the highest bigotry, must make them in their hearts enemies to a British Government, however mild and beneficent.

5. That being born and bred among the savages,

connected with them by intermarriage, professing the same religion, they never fail to inculcate in them a spirit of dislike to English heretics; and who may easily prevail upon the Indians to break peace and to chase away the English settlers from their habitations.

6. That these French Neutrals, as they are now collected together, are at present a heavy charge upon the English inhabitants, who are obliged to mount guard every third day and night in their turns, to prevent the escape of the prisoners.

Belcher accordingly gave orders that the Acadians be taken to Halifax for deportation, and the refugees were sent to Massachusetts where the authorities refused to allow them to land and all had to be returned to Nova Scotia. The deporting of these unwanted wretches continued for three years after. Tales are told of old ox carts found rotting in the far depths of the forest, of rude stone cairns near them placed over shallow graves to keep wild animals from disturbing the last sleep of those who found no peace on earth, or good will towards men. There were Acadian chapels at Beausejour, Baie Verte, Tantramar, Petitcodiac and Minudie. The bell and sacramental vessels belonging to the Tantramar church were buried at the time of the expulsion and were dug up after years and taken to St. Joseph's, Memramcook, where they are kept amongst other Acadian relics. The Beausejour chapel bell remained as English property after the fall of the Fort and is now in service in the Church of St. Marks at Mount Whately, just a few miles from where it originally called the peasants to their worship. It is ornamented by scrolls and the fleur-de-lis, and bears the following inscriptions:

"Ad Honorem Dei Fecit. F. M. Gros A Rochefort, 1734."

The fate of the bells and vessels of the other chapels is not known.

Fort Cumberland remained a military post until 1833 and many and interesting are the accounts of her different garrisons. One such entry relates to the first St. Patrick's dinner given on this side of the Atlantic on March 17th, 1759. It reads: "The officers, who are natives of Ireland, entertained all the gentlemen of this garrison at a suttling house in the town; we were thirty-four in number, the Hibernians twenty.

"Colonel James ordered the colours to be hoisted, and politely set the example of mounting a cross in his hat, which was followed by every officer and other gentlemen of the civil branch under his command. The bill of fare was as follows—but the reader must not infer from hence, that we always or any time, lived as well as we have done this day; for I never saw such a good cheer before or since that day in America. The menu was:

Parsnips, potatoes, etc.
Two bullocks of beef; 50½ lbs cabbage, roots, etc.
A leg of mutton, 7 lbs roots, etc.
A ham, 11 lbs, a turkey, cabbage, etc.
Another ham 10 lbs, four fowls, cabbage, etc.
Two sirloins beef, 54 lbs, salads, etc.
A hindquarter of veal 10½ lbs.
¼ of veal in pie 10½ lbs.
Mutton in pie, a turkey and sauce.
Apple pies, two puddings.
Cheese, soft bread, beer, etc.
Bowls of lemon punch.
Dozen of red and white wine.
Wine to servants.
Wine to Fifers and Drummers.

"This festival was joyously celebrated and with the greatest mirth and good humour, the officers and company having retired to the Fort before 9 o'clock in the evening."

It is easy to believe that the occasion was a joyous one, but the early retiring is remarkable. One of the main occupations of the soldiers for a few years was the search for Acadian buried treasure. It was an open secret that much wealth lay buried on the Fort Cumberland ridge, as well as at Jolicure, Aulac, Tantramar and other village sites. Just back of the Fort, a distance in the woods at the point where the ground slopes to the Tantramar marshes is a huge shelf of rock that rises some feet clear of the soil and extends fourteen or fifteen feet in length. On this is chiselled a set of quaint characters that have entertained visitors ever since the fall of Beausejour. That the meaning of these characters might possibly be the key to great wealth was the fond dream of different garrisons, and the officers were often at their wits' end to enforce orders forbidding further excavations.

Then there were many "haunted" places about the ridge and its marshes that furnished thrills to lonely travellers. The story lives of the five drowned Acadians who sometimes reappear in the muddy Missiquash when it is at full tide. These hapless visitants were drowned in an attempt to cross to the British side in defiance of La Loutre's orders in 1754. In the latter days of September no farmer lingers after nightfall at his haying in that particular region. Again there is the great gnarled oak some miles up the ridge where grim skeletons rattle in the cool breezes of autumn. Starved, lost, helpless and numbed with exposure, a little band

had settled about the roots of the big tree and died. There their bones were found years after, and told their own tale. Only the hardy, in daylight, visit this eerie nook. Then a redstone chasm of the Tantramar is endowed with another tale of Micmac horror. The savages captured an officer and his sweetheart in Halifax, brought them by canoe route to the river and there tied the two to stakes to await the incoming tide. In their brutality the red men fastened the girl to a post purposely set higher that she might first witness the death of her lover. The French at Beausejour saw the Indians at the channel and at length made an investigation. They were too late. The waters had already closed over the head of the officer, and when the girl saw that she might be saved, she thrust her head under the lapping waves and died before they could release her. Charles G. D. Roberts has put the episode, be it tradition or fact, into a vivid and poignant tale. With such stories existing, the garrison had much material with which to wile away dull hours. Extracts from one year's routine will serve to illustrate life at Fort Cumberland.

XV—ORDERLY BOOK OF FORT CUMBERLAND, 1759-1760

MAY 23rd. Parole "Whitemore"; Countersign, "Salem."

A Court Martial to sit to-morrow morning for the Trial of all such persons as shall be brought before them. The six French prisoners are to be put aboard the *Endeavor*, Captain Charles Hill to go with them to Halifax. Thirty men are to be detached to Joyn the artillery and taught the exercise of the Canon and to be ablebodied spry men. The garrison to be under arms tomorrow at 4 o'clock in the afternoon in order to their being Shewn their alarm posts. The guards are to join their companys except the Block house and Centrys and these officers when they are posted are to have a list taken of the Sergeants and Corporals and Private Names.

Whereas the Itch Increases among the Soldiers of this garrison it's Earnestly recommended to the Officers commanding companies to Procure Brimstone and What else may be Necessary to Cure and is possible to put a stop soon to the Progress of it, as the Consequences of Neglect in that Point will be very Detrimental to the men.

May 26th. Whereas Nathanael Lamson, private of Captain Cheever's Company is reported prisoner under guard Confined by Lt. Boyden for lying down on his post and Neglect of Duty and Whereas Information has been made the prisoner is subject to

Fitts and supposed to have one at Ye time he was found lying down a Court of Inquiry is Set consisting of 1 Capt 4 subs and report as soon as may be to the Commanding Officer how they find it.

May 28. Whereas complaint has been made that the gardens are hurt by the Hogs and small swine, those that are owners of them are Either to Shut up or yoak them in order to prevent them doing so.

Two men of the Preventials are appointed as Heards men to be under the Directions of Mr. Tongue, also three carpenters for the King's works to be under the same directions.

The Works in Case of Alarm are to be manned as follows:

Posts	Capts.	Lieut.	Ensgs.	Sergts.	Corp.	Private
Prince Edward's Bastion	1	..	1	1	1	30
Prince Henry's Bastion	1	1	..	1	1	30
The Duke's Bastion	1	..	1	1	1	25
Prince William's Bastion	..	1	..	2	1	20
Prince Frederick's Bastion	..	1	..	2	1	20
Lowden's Curtain	..	1	..	1	1	12
Store House Curtain	..	..	..	1	..	6
Gate Way Curtain	..	..	..	1	..	6
Officers' Barracks Curtain	..	..	..	1	1	6
Soldiers' Barracks Curtain	..	..	..	..	1	4
	3	4	2	11	8	159

Orders in case of Alarm. The officers of the Spurr guard is to go with 24 of his men into the Redan where the gate is and defend it as long as possible. The sergeant of the Covertuay guard is to keep his post until forced by the enemy or ordered to retire, which he is to do in the Ditch till he comes to the fort Gate. The Centrys are to keep their posts till they are forced or called off or till the attack becomes general upon the body of the fort. The artillery are to be joined by 30 men taught the exercise of the great guns.

June 2. Its the commanding officers orders that the Partys who go Daily for wood parade their men so early as to march at ten o'clock in the morning. which hour they are not to exceed.

June 3rd Return of Ammunition.

Powder Recd at the Castle	2,500
Balls Recd at the Castle	2,500
Powder Recd at Fort Cum	2,796
Balls Recd at Fort Cum	2,252
Whole Powder	5,296
Whole Balls	4,752
Powder Now by them	2,907
Balls Now by them	2,389
	3,862
Powder Lost	2,389
Balls Lost	1,370

June 5. Whereas complaint has been made that the men in the barracks empty their waste and other filth arising from their cookery within their Barrack doors which is very offensive: Its Col Fryes orders the capts of the several companies in garrison to provide Tubbs for their respective companies and see they put all such filth in them and duly carry them out a good distance from the Spurr gate and empty them where it may be least offensive to either those without or within the Spurr gate.

June 7. Its Col Fryes orders that an officer daily visit the soldiers barracks and see they keep themselves clean and that no filth be thrown out about their doors into the parade of either fort or spurr or the Backsides of the barracks between them and the works end, that the soldiers cook their victuals properly and by no means suffer them to eat broyld salt pork or rashers of any kind, and make report daly to the commanding officer how they find the soldiers conduct themselves on these points.

June 14. Whereas the marsh lying between the Eminencys on which the fort stands and the river Aulac in the place of dependencies for procuring Hay for the support of the King's oxen &c in the winter season, the herdsmen are directed to take Effectual care that no cattle or horses be suffered their any longeer.

June 19. Guards as usual saving while the sloop *Sea Flower* now in Cumberland Creek Lyes there a corporal and 6 men are to be sent Every Night to guard her. Prayers are to be attended daly at 9 o'clock in the morning by all the men in the garrison off duty. Sick in Hospital 7 Privates. Lame in Barracks 4 Privates. Total 11.

June 22. The wood party is to consist of 75 men to be detached from the several companies in garrison in proportion to each of them.

June 23rd. It's Col Fryes orders that the N.C. Os and privates in garrison keep their firearms clean and in good order, that they make their daily practice to wash and keep their face and hands clean and their weekly practice to wash their shirts that they may have a clean one to put on every week, and every time they turn out under arms on any occasion whatever that they appear personally clean and neat and their beards shaved off and their firearms as above directed, all of which the captains and other officers are to see their respective companys daily observe.

June 30. Divine Service to be attended every Sunday by all off garrison duty to begin at 11 o'clock in forenoon.

July 3rd. Rum to be issued to the troops belonging to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay now in Garrison at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of those days

the same is issued and they are to attend Capt. Livermore at that time for it.

July 7. Whereas some of the Troops from the Province of Massachusetts Bay now in garrison have taken sundry sorts of clothing and other things out of the Province stores and sold them or exchanged them as imagined for Spirituous liquors, of which they have less need than of the former, which practice is not only a violation of the third article of the 3rd section of the articles of war which exposes offenders to corporal punishment but destroys the design of that govt in sending them under the care of gentlemen to relieve the wants of their soldiers and not only so but will be attaned with other bad consequences to those guilty of such irregularities, for most certainly rum will not defend them from the inclemency of the weather nor the stinging of the insects with which this country very plentifully abounds as clothing will, and besides too much strong liquor intoxicates the brain and renders those that take it to that degree unfit for military duty or anything else, and if they are posted as centrys as sum times has been, then ten to one they are catch asleep, put under guard and brought to punishment for the avoiding of which theyll plead they never did so before nor should they have done so then only happened to be a little in liquor, a pretty name for drunkenness and an excuse, but those that be guilty of such conduct will find not sufficient, but for remedy in this case its Col Fryes orders that no Sutler person or persons be Lysenced for selling spiritous liquors.

July 11. Liberty is hereby granted to all Sutlers at this place to Sell any sort of spiritous liquors to the Provincial Troops in garrison between the hours

of ten o'clock in the morning and five in the afternoon, if they please but with caution, that they receive no sort of cloathing of the said troops as pay for said liquor or for anything else they may purchase of them, and that if the Sutlers or others in trade Credit these troops for anything that ever they must run the Risque of getting pay for the same as the soldiers receive no pay till they return to New England again and its not in the power of the officers nor myself to put them under any stoppages either there or here.

July 16. A corporal and 6 Private Men to be ready at a minute's warning with their arms, ammunition and a week's provisions to attend the command of our Mr. Tongue on his passage to Halifax and elsewhere he shall see fit. One Capt 2 subs 2 sergeants 2 corporals and 60 men with their arms ammunition and a week's provision to proceed in the schooner Down the bay for wood cutting, where good wood is to be cut between this and Cape Merringuin.

July 20. Ten of the best men for mowing who are to be detached for that purpose are to hold themselves in readiness at Capt. Huston's call who has the oversight of that business.

July 21. Whereas the soldiers in garrison belonging to the Massachusetts Bay have refused to be at the trivial expense of two pence, each man per week to have their molasses brewed into beer and have insisted on having molasses delivered unto them under pretences of brewing themselves which they have been indulged in for sum time, but instead of using it in that way which the Govt designed they eat it with their victuals to the damage of their health; therefore no more molasses is to be delivered

unto them, and Capt. Livermore, commissary of the Province Stores, will please govern himself accordingly.

July 25. Whereas many of the soldiers belonging to the garrison have contrary to orders of it taken liberty to go a shooting at the expense of the King's ammunition, therefore none of them are for the future to go out for that purpose except in conformity to the following instructions. 1. Not more than 3 of each company are to go out in a day. 2. The capts or officers are to suffer none of the men to expend the King's ammunition and in order to prevent it are to take the same from them and keep it until they return and see that for such shooting they carry lead no larger than what is commonly called duck shot. 3. The centrys at each gate are to suffer none to go out for that purpose but those that produce written liberty under the hand of their commanding officer, for such they are to apply to Major Endicott in whose hands I have deposited Tickets for them and who is also to inspect their ammunition to see if they have not artfully concealed powder or balls belonging to the King and that they have none of their own but such as are directed by the second articles of these orders.

4. None are to go out before the guards are relieved nor to stay out longer than 11 o'clock, and on their return are to deliver their tickets to the Major the First thing that they do. 5. None to go a shooting as afore without the block house and Gibbets. One ticket is lodged with the major for the use of the Royal Regiment of artillery and one for the use of Capt Dankes men under the following restrictions—all shooting at game either flying or sitting near the fort is forbidden. N.B. Officers

and other gentlemen are not to be understood included in this order.

July 27th. A sergeant and twelve Privates to cover these teams going for picketts. A corporal and 6 privates to cover the men moving on the most exposed part of the marsh.

August 3rd. On the 21st of July an order was issued debarring the soldiers of the garrison molasses which they have accustomed themselves to eat notwithstanding it was the design of the govt it should be with spruce brewed into beer which is a very healthy drink, since which some of the soldiers say that if they may have molasses they will use it in that way. In order to see if they will Capt Livermore has liberty to issue out molasses to the troops in the pay of the province said order notwithstanding; but the soldiers have such a propensity to eating molasses which I have found by long experience is very prejudicial to their health. The capts and officers in garrison are hereby directed to use their utmost endeavor to cause the molasses that may be issued to be used in brewing beer as aforesaid; then if the soldiers, in spite of all precautions will eat it and bring themselves in the bad habit of body, they must own it is their own fault.

August 7th. Whereas some of the soldiers of the garrison objected against haymaking and carting for the King aledging that they can have more of their labor of other people. Therefore all n c o and privates are confined to fort each morning during the hay season till a sufficient number is secured for getting hay for His Majestys use, also for the officers in garrison and for other gentlemen in public trust, after which the men off duty may labor for other people.

August 10th. One Capt and 1 sub 1 sergeant and 40 privates to be ready with their arms ammunition in good order at three o'clock tomorrow morning if weather permit, the capt to wait upon the C.O. as soon as he is notified when he will be informed what Rout to take. None belonging to this garrison to go shooting tomorrow except as have special leave from the C.O. and their limits assigned by him.

August 12. Sergt Taylor of the Rangers and 20 ptes with one day's provisions to go over to Fort Lawrence tomorrow morning at 7 o'clock in order to attend upon the sloop *Cumberland*, which will be in the river Missiquash that day Capt Dagget. Six men to be ready to go with Capt Rusten with carts for some brush to be landed where he shall direct.

Sept. 25. Qm Butler to take a cpl and 6 ptes to get the sick men on board the vessel that is to carry them to New England and to put some good sweet hay on board for them to lay upon their passage.

Sept. 30. Whereas I have been informing that the ncos and privates have accustomed themselves to sit gaming at cards in their barracks which keeps them up late a nights, of course, unfits them for duty and likely may be the means of leaving their fire in such a careless manner as to endanger their barracks. Therefore all such gaming is forbidden and the officers are hereby enjoined to use their utmost endeavor to supress the same.

Nov. 1st. One half cord of fire wood per week allowed each chimney necessarily occupied by the officers and soldiers in garrison, the whole of which half cord is to be delivered for each chimney at one time.

Nov. 4th. Whereas the fire wood brought for the use of His Majesty's garrison in this place and corded upon the marsh with sundry other things provided for the King's work and use; also many things that are private propertys are driven by the tremendous gale of wind & surprising sea that in the course of Provedence happened this day and lodged upon the marsh and a long dewerage on each shore all persons belonging to the garrison and all the inhabitants of every denomination are here strictly forbidden taking or meddling with anything or things lodged as aforesaid, and its expected this order will be duly observed answering it on their perrell.

No. 6. An officer to the command of a sergeant and 12 men to go in search of what may be driven ashore from the sloop *Ruby* that belonged to the people that are on board her in the beginning of the storm.

Nov. 17th. 30 men to be detached for compleating the dock for the sloop *Ruby* to get into the Creek.

Dec. 11th. The guards are all times when there is ocation to help the Train of artillery to clean the batteries of snow. Officers to have preference when goods are for sale by sloops.

Dec. 29th. A sergt and 30 men to be detached immediately and sent to help ballast the sloop *Massachusetts* Capt Saunders.

Jan. 15th. Had Indian Thos. Lawrence in barracks and got him drunk. Condemn this as possibly fatal to peace concluded yesterday, and for the future.

Feb. 4. A list to be taken of all the French people now here, distinguishing those that belong to Merimichi & Richibucto from those that belong to

Petticodiac & Memoramcook. Then a list to be taken of all them that desire to return to their several places of abode and another of all the able-bodied men and persons who are to go and encamp in the woods where they may supply themselves with fuel and all the rest to be moved out of the fort and spur into the hospital and hutts.

Feb. 6. Whereas Mr. John Mirse has been set in such a light by Mr. Bradstreet and a cloud of French evidence has caused me to think he was a very dangerous and infamous person, but inasmuch as the Rev. Mr. Manach has acquitted him of the capital fault laid to his charge and by writings produced has acquitted himself of two other material ones, I think it is my duty to take this publick method to inform the people in this place of it, in order to repair ye breach made in his reputation by false evidence in those points.

March 10. Forbad any of fort or village sending provisions to those not provided with certificates by Mr. Manach, as he suspects some of those in Upper N.B. who have not surrendered. Promises pay for cattle sheep or poultry in order to learn who are really in want.

March 18th. Commanded all owners of swine to put rings in their noses to prevent their damaging the walls.

April 19th. All trading in the French or Indians for any sort of Poultry, feathers or valuable effects such as cattle, horses, sheep or swine is strictly forbidden except under the directions of the Commanding Officer. N.B. The above orders is not intended to restrain officers or inhabitants from buying goose, ducks, partridges, hares, and such game of either French or Indians.

May 2nd. Warns again about ringing swine.

May 6th. The centrys are directed to kill swine digging at earthworks.

June 7th. Whereas playing the game called fives which has been practised against Lowland batterys and the Magazine beats out the Pointing out of these works, that game for ye future may not be played against them, and the officers of the guards are to give the centrys charge that they suffer it not to be done.

Sept. 9th. The discharge of three cannon is settled as a garrison alarm upon which all partys and persons out of fort may conclude an enemy has been discovered and to take the necessary precaution for their safety.

The story is handed down by old residents of Cumberland that one of Colonel Frye's veterans received his discharge while on duty at the Fort and settled among the people near Amherst. This old soldier roamed about until his death, never remaining long in one place, and never stopping at a home where there were infants. This was not understood until he was an old man when he confessed that while on an attacking party they had entered an Acadian settlement to find that all the inhabitants had fled. He entered a house and was about to fire it when he saw, deserted by its mother and family, an infant lying in a cradle. The soldiers had scant time to linger in their march and an officer bade him be quick with his work. He then called attention to the infant and was rudely cursed for his soft heartedness. The soldier went back to the cradle and raised his sword. The babe looked up and smiled. With averted head he made the thrust—and never to his grave could look at another infant or rest in a house where its tiny voice was heard.

From 1765 to 1775 new settlers came steadily to the Isthmus territory. At Fort Cumberland or near it were disbanded soldiers, New England emigrants, refugees, slaves, Indians and sturdy settlers from Yorkshire. These last numbered many converts John Wesley had made, the best type of pioneer.

The thirty-five families settled at Cumberland township in 1763 applied for a representative at Halifax on November 1st, and the appeal is signed by "John Huston," who was the representative chosen, then engaged as Commissary General of the British in Nova Scotia, leaving the Fort in 1783 to become paymaster of the troops at Quebec, Abel Richardson, a New England emigrant, Elijah Ayer, another emigrant, Josiah Throop, an engineer in the British Army who surveyed the township, and Col. Joseph Morse. Morse had taken an active part in the Seven Years' War, been captured on the Atlantic and cast into French dungeons where his health was ruined. After exchange he was favoured in many ways by the British sovereign, given a pension and allowed to spend his remaining days at Fort Cumberland. Among these notables were others prominent in early history. Gamaliel Smethurst, he who had been guided through trackless forest in 1761, and Sennacherib Martin, a captain in Winslow's expedition, who settled at Westmoreland Point, giving his retinue of slaves their freedom and his name. James Law was a colonel of Militia and an extensive property owner at Point De Bute, but he made ventures and died a parish charge. Samuel Gay was a giant who lived very near the Fort, and he has a thousand legends to his memory. He measured over six feet six inches in height, and

was broad in proportion. Daniel Goodwin had been a scout under Winslow and was the first Englishman to cross the Isthmus, he carrying the terms of capitulation to Fort Gasperaux. Sackville was recognized as a township on July 20th, 1762, and soon other former holdings were inhabited. Governor Franklin sent to England for settlers and was well answered. The ship, *Duke of York*, left Liverpool with the first boatload on March 16th, 1772, and after a voyage of forty-six days landed sixty-two passengers at Halifax. From there they went by schooner to Fort Cumberland, arriving there the 21st of May. Other vessel loads followed in 1773, and in 1774 a record number of settlers arrived, nine shiploads coming before the last of June. At Halifax one lot was separated, the women and children being taken on a schooner to Fort Cumberland and the men hiking overland via Fort Edward, thence by boat to Parrsboro, and from there over the Boar's Back to River Hébert and Minudie whence boats conveyed them to their waiting families. The names of these Yorkshire settlers are still legion around the Chignecto district, and comprise, Black, Lusby, Oxley, Keilor, Siffall, Wells, Lowerison, Trueman, Chapman, Donkin, Read, Carter, King, Trenholm, Dobson, Smith, Howser, Atkinson, Bulmer, Harper, Patterson, Fawcett, Wry, Harrison, Brown, Lodge, Shipley, Pipes, Coates, Ripley and others.

And now came a last crisis in the turbulent district of Chignecto. The revolted New England colonies were asking the maritime provinces to join with them. In 1776 matters came to a head when a meeting was held at Maugerville, N.B., to appoint a committee to approach the Massachusetts

Assembly with proposals for attack on Nova Scotia. In Cumberland feelings ran high. The settlers from New England were in favour of the rebels and advocated revolution, but the newcomers from Yorkshire scorned such principles and maintained a staunch loyalty. Montreal was captured and Quebec was besieged. Two hundred Indians gathered at Miramichi and threatened descent of English holdings. Fourteen redhot rebels from Cumberland went to Continental Congress with a petition signed by six hundred sympathizers of the province, asking for a force to capture Fort Cumberland first, and then the capital. Once Halifax had fallen the rest would be easy sailing. And strange to say the meetings of the Cumberland outlaws were held at Weatherhead's tavern, within gun range of the Fort. The Council on July 10th, 1775, gave supplies and ammunition to distribute among the dependable people, Major Barron, Mr. Law and the C.O. at the Fort being chosen as overseers of the distribution. Fifty Cumberland men joined a defending militia and it was proposed that an endeavour be made to raise four companies. For lack of support this project was given up and rebel ideas prevailed until on January 11th, 1776, a memorial against militia law was presented to the authorities, signed by sixty-four Cumberland men, by fifty-eight from Amherst township, by seventy-three from Sackville and by fifty-one Acadians, mostly resident at Minudie on the holdings of DesBarres, where they had leased their farms for ninety-nine years. This memorial aroused Halifax a trifle and fifty trained soldiers were added to the Fort Cumberland garrison on March 16th. On the 17th, following this action, came news of certain

intelligence that Jonathan Eddy, Wm. How and Samuel Rogers were ringleaders in stirring up trouble. A reward of £200 was immediately offered for Eddy by the Council, and £100 for the others, including John Allan, who it is said wrote the "Proposals for an Attack on Nova Scotia," which were laid before the Council of Massachusetts State. The paper is much too lengthy to reproduce. Its most salient features were that only three thousand men were needed to subdue the province, with eight armed schooners to attend to the harbours. The expedition was to enter Minas Basin and thence disperse in different directions so as to take Fort Edward and Annapolis and cut off all communication with Halifax, which was to be attacked from both land and sea.

Allan writes: "The rest of the troops I would have proceed up Chignecto Bay to the River Memramcook. I doubt not but Fort Cumberland could be easily taken by surprise, notwithstanding what has happened, but should it not, the different avenues must be guarded, and the disaffected secured. Artillery, if necessary, can be easily conveyed to a proper place for use, by any ways, either land or sea. Any armed vessels after this to proceed up Cumberland Bay, where they may lie a sufficient distance to prevent any hurt from the cannon of the Forts, and secure from any vessels of greater strength than themselves. This would prevent any escape of the garrison by water, or any assistance going to them. Two armed vessels to cruise between Island St. John and Bay Verte, would be necessary. I think, from the operations of Captain Eddy, that Fort Cumberland will be as difficult to take, if not surprise, as any part. . . .

But Fort Cumberland is the most suitable for the different operations throughout the province, it having the greatest command over the most distant parts; it lays near the centre, and from its situation is of great consequence in the present plan or of any other that may be carried on in that province. . . . The French and the English esteemed Fort Cumberland as the most important post in that country; it commands extent of sea-coast; it always supported the Indians in their depredations committed in the eastern country; commanded the sea coast towards Chaleur, the Indian Trade and Fishery. I am convinced (of a sufficient number of men) it is as easily secured. Provisions and necessarys may be safely transported as to any of the eastern settlements in New England. . . . I would recommend that one thousand men with provisions and ammunition, six or eight pieces of cannon, be as soon as possible sent to River St. Johns, from there form their plan how to proceed to Cumberland . . ."

XVI—EDDY'S ATTACK ON FORT CUMBERLAND

IN AUGUST Charles Baker, of Hillsboro, reported that the New England rebels had cleared a road from Shepody to St. John for the use of invaders, and that 800 Indians had rallied to the rebel cause.

The country was now in alarm, as the principal forces of regular soldiers were fighting on the Continent, and Goreham, in command at Fort Cumberland, could only muster a total of 260 men. September and October passed bringing additional rumours and then in November Col. Eddy appeared on the Isthmus. In spite of all his agitating he had only raised a small force consisting of 200 Machias and St. John men, with a few Indians. As they came the rebels captured a small outpost at Shepody, which heartened them considerably. Their approach was via Midgic and Jolicure to Allen's farm at Point de Bute. There they learned that a vessel laden with supplies had entered the Basin at dusk. Scouts went out at once and as it was a misty night were able to move with secrecy. The tide had gone out and the vessel was helpless in the mud. A party of the rebels were soon at the vessel's side and presently the sentry on duty was looking into the muzzle of a Queen Anne musket, while he heard a very realistic threat: "If you move you are a dead man." In a moment the rebels were in

possession and had the crew fastened below. As it was growing light, Captain Barron and Eagleson, the missionary, came down from Fort Cumberland and climbed on board without suspecting anything wrong. They were at once made prisoners, and as the tide turned the vessel was steered out into the Basin and the Union Jack run down to make way for a gaudy home-made Stars and Stripes. The garrison at the Fort were helpless to render assistance, and the supplies were dealt out to the rebel camps and the sloop taken to Boston where the prisoners, forty in number, were landed. Eddy, from his camp which he had established at which is now Mount Whatley, though known for years as Camp Hill, issued orders with all the dignity of a general and sent the following summons to the Fort commander:

"To Joseph Gorham, Esq., Lieut-Colonel Commandt
of the Royal Fencibles Americans, Commanding
Fort Cumberland:—

"The already too plentiful Effusion of Humand Blood in the Unhappy Contest between Great Britain and the Colonies, calls on every one engaged on either side, to use their utmost Efforts to prevent the Unnatural Carnage, but the Importance of the Cause on the side of America has made War necessary, and its Consequences, though in some Cases shocking, are yet unavoidable. But to Evidence that the Virtues of humanity are carefully attended to, to temper the Fortitude of a Soldier, I have to summon you in the Name of the United Colonies to surrender the Fort now under your Command, to the Army sent under me by the States of America. I do promise that if you surrender Yourselves as Prisoners of War you may depend upon being treated with the utmost Civility and Kind Treatment; if you refuse I am determined to storme the Fort, and you must abide the consequences.

"Your answer is expected in four Hours after you receive this and the Flag to Return safe.

"I am, Sir,

"You most obedt. Hble. Servt.

"Jona Eddy,

"Nov. 10, 1776. Commanding Officer of the United Forces."

The answer to this remarkable document was sent in the stipulated time.

"Fort Cumberland, 10th Nov., 1776.

Sir:—

"I acknowledge the receipt of a Letter (under coular of a Flag of Truce) Signed by one Jonas Eddy, Commanding Officer, expressing a concern at the unhappy Contest at present Subsisting between Great Britain and the Colonys, and recommending those engaged on either side to use their Endeavours to prevent the too Plentiful effusion of human Blood, and further Summoning the Commanding Officer to surrender this garrison.

"From the Commencement of this Contest I have felt for my deluded brother Subjects and Countrymen of America, and for the many Innocent people thay have wantonly Involved in the Horrors of an Unnatural Rebelion, and entertain every humane principle as well as an utter aversion to the Unnecessary effusion of Christian Blood. Therefore Command you in His Majesty's name to disarm yourself and your party Immediately and surrender to the King's Mercy, and further desire you would communicate the Inclosed Manifests to as many of the Inhabitants as you can, and as Speedily as possible to prevent their being involved in the Same dangerous and Unhappy dilemma.

"Be assured, Sir, I shall never dishonour the character of a Soldier by Surrendering my command to any Power except to that of my Sovereign from whence it originated. I am, Sir,

"Your most hble servt,

"Jos. Gorham,

"Lt.-Col., Com'at, R.F.A.

"Commanding Officer at Fort Cumberland."

After this exchange, both sides prepared for battle.

Eddy's "army" was hardly as formidable a force as he believed it, and their first attack was not a success. An Indian who had been a hanger-on about the Fort offered, for a price, to get into the Fort in some manner and remain there, so that when the assault took place he would unbar the main gate and let Eddy's men rush in. The rebel chief at once agreed to terms, and accordingly the redskin arranged an entrance. His scheme was ruined, however, when Major Dixon, our old intrepid friend of Boishebert days, saw the Indian at the gate and slashed his outstretched arm as he grasped the gate bar, maiming the Micmac for life. Finding their trick had failed, the rebels soon retired. Eddy's own account of the night's work is rather elaborated: "Upon Colonel Gorham's Refusal to surrender we attempted to storm the Fort in the Night of the 11th of November with our scaling Ladders and other Accoutrements, but finding the Fort to be stronger than we imagined (occasioned by late repairs), we thought fit to Relinquish our Design after a heavy firing from their Great Guns and small Arms, with Intermission of 2 hours, which we sustained without any loss (except one Indian being wounded), who behaved very gallantly, and Retreated in Good Order to our Camp."

A few days later another attack was made. Eddy used his knowledge of the defence of the Fort and managed to set fire to the barracks on the south-east side, in hope that sparks would reach the powder magazine. This attack failed, though the barracks and some other buildings were burned, and the preparedness of Gorham on this particular attack was

said to be due to a traitor in the Eddy camp, thus repaying the Indian treachery in kind.

Gorham was much worried by events. His force was small, and his ammunition scant. Should reinforcements reach the rebels they would probably achieve their goal. A few attempts to get a messenger to Halifax had failed. Eddy, having lived at Chignecto, knew all the byways and had strung his scouts and Indians in all directions. In despair Gorham called for volunteers to get through, and Dixon, the irrepressible, at once made ready. With six men he went by boat to Fort Edward and thence overland to Halifax. The Governor at once ordered Major Batt of Fort Edward to take two companies of soldiers, "Royal Emigrants," they were dubbed, to the rescue of Fort Cumberland. The force was at first delayed by leaky boats, but they arrived at Chignecto late on the 28th, and at once planned an attack on Eddy's camp. Taking the Aulac road they detoured until they got in the rear of the rebels. Their ambush would have been successful had not a negro drummer, stirring in his sleep, heard and saw the movements in the bush. He rose quickly and beat the alarm. Nine musket balls pierced his drum, but he was unharmed. Under the first volley, a rebel named Furlong fell dead. His comrades fled headlong. The pursuit in the dark had to be abandoned, and the next morning the soldiers were fired on from the woods and several wounded. This incensed them so that they burned the home of Allan and managed to shoot two Indians of Eddy's party. Mrs. Allan and children fled to the woods and were found some days later by her father, living on baked potatoes picked up around

the burned dwelling. She was taken to Halifax as a prisoner, but was soon given liberty to rejoin her rebel husband at Machias. Several prisoners were captured in the night raid, and among them were Dr. Parker Clark, James Avery, Captain Falconer, of Cobequid, who had joined Eddy with twenty-five helpers, and young Richard John Uniacke, an Irishman who had come to America to seek his fortune, and, loving a fight, had thrown in his lot with the rebels. Clark and Falconer were tried for treason the next spring and dismissed. Avery escaped from jail, and Uniacke was released on turning King's Evidence. One feature of the trial was the evidence that Dr. Clark took advantage of his rebel power to collect a bill for services rendered from one Thos. Robinson of Amherst. The sum involved was thirty-five shillings and had not the bill been paid the debtor would have landed in some rebel prison. An account in full of the trial is at the Public Archives.

Eddy and his men had a terrible journey back to Machias. The cold and stormy weather, together with their loss of equipment and supplies, made the adventure one of cruel suffering. Bands of rebels still existed in parts, and their depredations, thefts and burnings, created strong animosity that lasted for years. In the "History of the Dixons," by James Dixon, we find this paragraph: "The rebels found more congenial employment in raiding the homes of the loyal and peaceable inhabitants, plundering them of such articles as they were in need of, and destroying or carrying away any guns or ammunition they might find. Mr. Dixon's home did not escape their unwelcome attention. His house was robbed of many valuable articles,

some of which he kept for sale. For a considerable period the loyal inhabitants, notably the English settlers, were subjected to a state of anxiety, and lived in dread of a repetition of such unwelcome visits. On one occasion, when some of these people were approaching the house, Mrs. Dixon hastily gathered up her silverware and other valuables and deposited them in her barrel of pig feed, where they quite escaped the notice of the visitors. On a later occasion, when somewhat similar troublous times existed, Mr. Dixon, with the aid of a negro servant, Cleveland, hid his money and other valuables in the earth, binding his servant by a solemn oath never to divulge to anyone the place of concealment."

Embittered by such deeds, some of the loyal ones, during too free imbibings of alcoholic stimulants, set out and burned the homes of rebel sympathizers. For five years the Isthmus ridges knew no complete peace, and stealthy movements after night fall were the order of the period. Eddy's farm was on the Fort Lawrence ridge, the road to it from Amherst still bearing his name, and after the rebellion had died down he came back to settle some business and get his wife and family. This was William Eddy, brother of the leader. He hid in a haystack during the day, but someone had been suspicious of the family and at night the soldiers came, surrounded the house and demanded their man. Mrs. Eddy would say nothing, so the redcoats went in and searched. They were unable to locate him and retired greatly crestfallen. Eddy had hidden in his grain bin, his mouth to a knot hole, completely covered with wheat. One of the soldiers thrust his sword into the grain and the blade went between Eddy's body and right arm.

Allan did not return. On February 19th, 1777, he presented a long memorial to the Council Board of Massachusetts Bay. In part it read:

"Notwithstanding the iron rod of despotism keeping them from having a share in the glorious revolution, yet they openedly avowed their sentiments during unnatural and cruel war . . . with pain and grief have they from time to time seen supplies procured in the neighbourhood for the use and benefit of the enemy of America . . . nothing could be done without assistance from other parts . . . with longing eyes did wait the expected relief, the last spring when to their great affliction heard that Captain Eddy was come without succour for them, and to aggravate their distress he immediately leaves the country with his family. . . . It was judged that unless five hundred men could be secured with a good commander and sufficient supplies there would be no possibility of success. . . . In this time Mr. Franklin, late Lieut.-Governor of the Province, came to Cumberland offered an enlistment for the inhabitants to sign, in which they were to promise with their lives and fortunes to support the dignity of the Crown. A few of the emigrants signed it, but the body of the inhabitants declared their detestation and abhorrence.

"In the beginning of November Captain Eddy arrived, acquainting them that he had come by authority of Massachusetts State to assist them in throwing off the yoke of British tryanny, but seeing the small number of his men told him there was no probability of success. He told them that as they had supplied the enemies of the Americans, Congress doubted their integrity. . . . If they would now assert their rights publicly against the

King's Government, he would come to help them, and in fifteen days expected a reinforcement of a large body of men. Most of the English and all of the French capable of bearing arms immediately formed and joined under Captain Eddy. After a few days they attempted to storm the Fort. They began to suspect that they had been imposed on and that the men who came with Captain Eddy were induced to do it by expectations of much plunder. The inhabitants chose a committee and sent an express to your honour for aid. On the 29th of November reinforcements came for the enemy. A sally determined on, the camp was surprised and all fled, except one man who was killed. The enemy pursued with all expedition for six miles, burning during their pursuit twelve houses and twelve barns, in which were contained one quarter of the bread of the country. Captain Eddy and his men retreated to Sackville, and from there to the River St. John, leaving signs of devastation and destruction behind them. Col. Gorham issued a proclamation offering pardon to those who would come in and lay down their arms; many were compelled to comply. . . . Great numbers of the inhabitants, choosing rather to face difficulty and danger than submit to the British yoke, were forced to leave their habitations; nearly seventy families of English were left without a man amongst them; the French Acadians fled to the woods; many outrages were committed by some who came with Mr. Eddy."

Eddy obtained a grant of land in Maine and his descendants still live there. Nine thousand acres were granted to those who came with him, totalling in 1785 one hundred and twenty-four

persons. William Eddy was killed by a shot from a British frigate as he crossed to Sackville in an open boat. Rogers, his assistant, was captured while in command of an American privateer.

In 1774 an Englishman from Norwich, Connecticut, named Elisha Freeman, came and settled at Tonge's Island. He had a daughter, Abigal, sixteen years of age, who was very beautiful and witty. Her charms captivated one Lieutenant Denny, who was with the garrison of Fort Cumberland. They fell in love, and at length Abigal gained permission to marry. Parsons were very scarce in those days, and the one generally officiating at the Isthmus, Parson Eagleson, was on a trip to Halifax. This Anglican missionary was said to be formerly an adherent to the Kirk of Scotland. He came to the Isthmus somewhere about 1769. History quotes him as being fond of a "drop" and merry tales are quoted of pranks played on him by fort officers who would treat him generously and set him backward on his horse before starting him homeward. At any rate, he had the confidence of Governor Franklin and was a zealous worker. Hearing that Denny wished his services, the good parson shipped from the Fort on the supply boat, and was at the Fort the night the rebels came. Unfortunately for him, as I have related, he was captured, and for sixteen months languished in Boston prisons. He then managed to escape and made his way back to the Isthmus by a long and devious route. Arriving there he at once informed Denny that he was now available for service. To his astonishment, the officer led him to his home and showed him a happy mother with a fine baby boy, and invited him to hold a christening instead of a wedding. Denny

had obtained permission for Joseph Gray, a magistrate at the Fort, to marry them, and had not waited. The Dennys had twelve children, the one Eagleson baptized becoming a Judge of the Supreme Court, the second an Attorney-General, and the other eight lads all attaining high office. In addition the two daughters married men of note.

Parson Eagleson suffered with the rest in losing his home and possessions during the rebellion and was compelled to apply to his Society for aid. As late as 1781 he was obliged to leave Chignecto when rebel boats came up the Bay and threatened to do damage. On July 31st, 1813, there is record of Elizabeth, daughter of Parson Eagleson, being united in marriage to Michael Head, a son of the Irish J.P. who received the second grant of land in Amherst township and for years regaled that community with wild Irish melées.

There is a legend in connection with Eddy's forces that is even contained in an account written by one Charles E. Knapp, of Dorchester. It is to the effect that Weatherhead's tavern at Fort Cumberland was much used by the Eddy men. The farmers of the district who were in sympathy with the rebels brought supplies there which Weatherhead served with his rum. This beverage was in great demand. Eddy's men dare not come so near in daylight, but always came at nightfall. Gorham learned of this and bargained with Weatherhead. The latter was to wait until his tavern was well filled with the rebels and then retire with his family to some spot outside, setting a lighted candle in a certain window before he did so. At this signal Gorham would cause a cannon to be discharged, one that was ranged full on the tavern.

Before the proper time one of Weatherhead's servants, a negro woman, by chance set her candle in the window agreed on. The cannon was discharged and the grape and canister did much damage to the building. The negro woman died from fright, and Weatherhead himself was literally cut in two. Such is the tale.

We are now at the end of our "Century at Chignecto." Another volume could be filled with incidents and history of the years that followed, for the Isthmus seems to draw adventure. Never was blood shed again by warring nations, but during the war of 1812 the natives had many alarms. Gustavus Nicholls, then engineer for the province, was called on to make a report on repairs needed at Fort Cumberland, and the Cumberland representatives, Thomas Roach and Henry Purday, strongly advised military readiness. The Fort was put in shape, several men of the unembodied militia volunteering to assist in the work. As many came a considerable distance, the regular army rations were allowed them. One night a man rushed into homes on the Fort Lawrence ridge with the startling news that an enemy boat had been seen at the mouth of the Missiquash River. Muskets were loaded and primed and soon twenty volunteers were lying by the dykes awaiting the hostile craft. Sure enough, the dark form was seen approaching in the gloom, and at the signal a perfect volley rang out. The dark shape shivered a trifle, but came on—proving to be a large spruce tree that had been undermined somewhere and had floated in on the tide. At Shepody a sloop was sighted at sundown and soon another volunteer band had manned hasty defences to resist the invaders. The craft proved to be an

apple boat from over Minas Basin, anxious to find a new market for valley products.

In July, 1776, 2,000 acres were granted to Messrs. Avery, Lockhart and Bacon to run a ferry from Partridge Island to the town of Windsor for a term of fifteen years. This opened a splendid market for the Annapolis Valley until the Fort was dismantled. The idea of a water route across the Isthmus lived for a long time. In 1823 New Brunswick sent a representative to Halifax to discuss the project of a canal from Chignecto to Bay Verte. Colonel Morse, of the Royal Engineers, had reported in 1784: "There is a road from Cumberland to Bay Verte, still passable, though it has been long neglected, and in some places broken, but in the time of the French was much used, and grain carried to Bay Verte for exportation, quantities of which were sent to Canada." He then discussed the old portages and a water route. Another engineer, Francis Hall, in 1825, submitted a report on the proposed canal, stating that the Fundy tides at Cumberland Basin rose twenty-one feet eight inches higher than at Bay Verte, that five locks were needed, and that the route followed should begin with the Aulac River and verge across the Missiquash. The probable cost would be £67,723:14. This Bay Verte Canal was a project of Sir Charles Tupper's, and failure to commence the work was used by Hon. W. P. Pipes, of Cumberland, in his campaign speeches.

In 1888 one George C. Ketchum, of Fredericton, New Brunswick, brought forward another solution of conquering the Isthmus problem. A man of giant physique, marvelous energy and strong personality, he had carried out important contracts

for the Intercolonial Railway with such ability that he had gained the confidence of the empire builders of the East. He explored the Chignecto district and at once conceived the idea of a "ship railway." Great docks would be installed at the Amherst and Tidnish terminals, equipped with hoisting machinery of sufficient power to lift schooners up to a tonnage of forty-five hundred, and place them on special trucks, which would carry the ship across the Isthmus. At the other end the same type of machinery would lower the vessel to the water again. A broad roadbed, sufficient to bed four heavy rails, would be used, and two or three bridges built. Ketchum went to the greatest engineering authority of the time, Sir Benjamin Baker, of England, and persuaded him to make a personal inspection of the situation. Baker did so, and endorsed Ketchum's plans in full. If this railway succeeded it was agreed that a much larger track would be attempted from Georgian Bay in Lake Huron across to Lake Ontario, via Simcoe Lake. If this larger scheme also proved a success the Panama would be their next objective.

English capital was secured and a miniature city sprang up overnight on the same grounds where Winslow's men had encamped, the same site where once the village of Beaubassin ranked second to none in Acadia. Four thousand men were employed and work proceeded rapidly. The Dominion Government promised assistance. Three years were allowed for construction, and if the project was then completed an annual subsidy of $200,000 would be granted. The Tidnish area was protected by a dam and the enclosed ground dredged to allow operations needed. Docks of cement, forty feet

A VIEW OF THE CHIGNECTO TERMINAL

A miniature town—stores, offices and dwellings—sprang up around the power station. To-day all have vanished

in depth, were constructed. Hydraulic machinery, engines, rails, etc., were brought from England, $800,000 being paid in duties. The completed track would be seventeen and one-quarter miles in length. Ten miles up the Fort Lawrence ridge was a very boggy area, and the engineers had to sink rock for sixty feet to gain a solid foundation. After two years the British firm that was financing the Railway, failed. The four-railed track was then finished with the exception of a small trestle three miles from Tidnish. The Amherst dock was almost complete, machinery was installed, and the finishing touches could be given in a few weeks. The Tidnish terminal was not so far advanced. But another year's work would see all in working order. Four millions had been spent and another million would place ships on the rails.

The shipping owners of Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick had fought against the proposition from the first. Changing governments gave them a foothold and political corruption, the drug that has retarded Canada, set in. Before Ketchum could arrange financial details so that he could resume work, his alloted time expired, and the Government withdrew their offer. Ketchum went to England and there got a firm to guarantee the needed million, provided the Canadian Government would guarantee their support. The measure was brought up in Parliament and refused. Ketchum died from overwork at this critical point, and his entire accomplishment was lost. To-day the old buildings at the terminals are haunts for crows and blackbirds. Near them are small hills of gray cubes. Blocks of cement, once barrels, from which the wood has vanished. The concrete docks are formed, but

filled with mud. The roadbed is as good as ever, merely waiting some enterprising individual who will utilize it as a short line to the attractive beaches. The expensive machinery, engines, rails, etc., were sold as junk. Thus ended the most unique attempt to take shipping across Chignecto.

XVII—THE CHANGES OF TIME

TO-DAY ALL is changed on the Isthmus ridges. The old Fort area is now enclosed and entitled, "Fort Cumberland National Park." Two cannon are mounted on the old defences, a flag still floats in the breeze from the Basin. The old powder magazine has crumbled to a large extent, but can easily be repaired. The old casement wherein Ensign Hay and the French officers lost their lives is still intact. A stairway leads into its depth, and the place has been cleaned and put in shape for visitors. The old trenches dug by Winslow's men are still holding their exact contours, the stone foundations of old Beausejour Chapel and the cellars of French homes dot the Fort locality. The well of the Fort has been closed with refuse in recent years, and the officers' wooden barracks are vanished within the last decade, but both can be restored. The "holy well" used by the priest of Beausejour still quenches thirsty passersby. All the huge defences of masonry and earthwork are still in shape to remind one of the import of this once-famous key to Acadia. Down on the marshes is Tonge's Island, remnants of Acadian dykes and the aboideaux that La Loutre built. Going up the ridge we find Eddy's old camp ground, the block house site at Point de Bute, and the abutments of Bloody Bridge. The old French road can be clearly traced in places, and at Bay Verte old French willows line it. The posts that held the French

causeway are still sound beneath the surface of the swampy soil. Fort Monckton has little remaining except its trenches and Winslow's well. A lighthouse on the outer defences and a modern field gun contrast the present with the past. Old head stones there are graven with grim reminders of the long ago. One reads:

James Whitcomb
Killed by Indians
July the 24th, 1755

Increase Robinson
Died October Ye 5th, 1755
Age 28 years

Nathaniel Hodge
Died September, 1755
Age 32

"Here Lyes ye Body for Serjt MacKay and 8 men
Kill'd and Scalp'd By Ye Indians in Bringing
in Firewood, Feb. 28, 1756.

"Here Lieth Ye Body of Capt. Joseph Willson,
Who Died Oct. 9th, 1755. Age 50 years."

Fred W. Munroe, of Port Elgin, well describes the scenery there. He wrote: "The summer tourist sojourning at Port Elgin, because of Fort Monckton's storied past, eagerly takes his way thither, and the rambler in quest of beauty, loves to loiter for an hour there. In the springtime the old apple trees still array themselves in pink, and the wild cherries are garlanded in white. In the depths of the forest slanting sunbeams never reached lovelier ferns than those that unroll their delicate fronds in these tree-shaded trenches.

"Here and there the paths are blocked by a tangle of wild roses, where pale morning-glories creep from thorny stem to stem. Later, in the days of passing summer, goldenrod aplenty you will find. How beautiful it appears, flaunting its plume against a background of dark blue water! And, one and all,

these flourish by this never-failing well that was sunk by Winslow's men when the water for the garrison was low.

"On the beach you may loaf among wave-worn rocks. You may saunter, if you like, under ancient willows bordering a stretch of the old military road that linked Fort Monckton with a stronger fort overlooking Fundy's tide.

"It is evening at Fort Monckton. There is a low moon adrift on a cloudless sky, and a glint of pale gold on Baie Verte's still water. As we wander about the barrack-square, it seems to us that a high palisade marks its bounds again. Look through this loophole. Over there looms a dark forest of fir trees—haunt of warlike redskins once more.

"Around us are cannon of the olden time, placed now to deal death to the luckless Frenchmen who brought them hither. The barracks and block-houses, which we thought had vanished in a far-off day, are thronged to-night. Shadowy sentinels—grim New Englanders—pace these dark and silent trenches; but we pass unchallenged. The only soldiers on duty here are those that come at Fancy's call.

"Our dream of the past is ended. The shrill cry of a wandering sea-bird has called us back to the present, with its birch trees in the moonlight and the sheen on the sleeping water."

Of Indian Point he wrote: "At Indian Point, near Port Elgin, there is a hamlet by the tide. In its low-roofed houses—their shingles gray from the sun and the mist-laden wind of the sea—town-wearied folk find shelter when taking a summer holiday. And the Point is an ideal camping-ground. In truth it is a pleasant spot, and has lured many

seeking rest to pitch a tent in the cool shade of its birch trees.

"Here is a smooth, sandy beach to tempt the bather. Here are clams and mussels to bake by a drift-wood campfire, while the night comes down. And if you are one of the carefree colony summering here—after your canoe is safely beached, the tennis-court deserted, the merry voices stilled—you may lie down to sleep lulled by the crooning of the night wind in the trees, the low music of the waves, and the faint laughing of the seagulls above the wide, gray waters."

The Rev. A. L. Fraser described the graveyard at Fort Monckton in verse:

"This lonely garden more than half-way round
Hath a sea-wall, and then a Time-filled moat—
The Fort's sole remanant now—doth else denote
How 'tis marked off from all the common ground;
And here and there in knee-deep grass are found
Prone slabs that speak of prowess in the past,
O'er which unheeding feet do trample fast—
Deaf to the message of each mouldering mound!

"I sit, and varied voices make me start:
Glad lovers listening to the lapping tide;
The team-song of the swain on yonder lea;
Children at play who are their parents' pride;
And that sweet bell—echoes of Liberty—
From out these graves in this old garden's heart!"

There are many graves at Fort Cumberland, as quaint and eloquent of the past as those on the other side of the Isthmus. Sad to say, they are in most cases outside the Park limits and have never been treated with the respect they deserve. One headstone even has been taken to top the chimney of a nearby farmhouse. One grave is strangely

tilted and the curious visitor is told that this pioneer loved the sunsets over the Tantramar with an intensity that few realized, and his last request was that his coffin would be placed at such an angle that his head would be eighteen inches higher than his feet, which he was certain would allow him to view the sunset. So the eastern end was raised accordingly. One old stone, dated 1773, reads:

"Remember me as you pass by;
As you are now, so once was I;
As I am now, soon you will be.
Prepare for death and follow me."

Another:

"Mourn not, dear friends, for my decease,
For I with God hath made my peace.
Life is uncertain, death is sure;
Sin gave the wound and Christ the cure."

Gone are all traces of the French villages, except their clustered cellars and gnarled old apple trees. Their millstones are sod-covered in an old ravine near Fort Lawrence, and the village road of old Beaubassin still affords the farmers an easy trail to the top of the ridge. Follow the old grassy highway and you will come to a level on the lowlands where you can pick up souvenirs of Acadian brick burned from marsh clay, and by digging on the opposite side of the road from the site of their old kiln you may unearth rotting heaps of tan bark, still lying under the surface in two-and three-foot tiers. This was the old tannery site when La Loutre's red man haunted the forest edges. Only weed-grown trenches and the old gun-pit remain at Fort Lawrence, but the old parade ground is clearly defined, as well as the chapel site, while at

least thirty Acadian cellars are to be found in the vicinity. But no more can be heard the hum of the spinning wheel, and the thud of the loom, and the rapid strokes of the flail in the barns, mingled with the laughter and cries of the children as they clapped their hands and shouted to frighten wild pigeons from the fields and orchards.

Yet one feature of their passing lives in many minds. Nearly every acre of the Chignecto district has been dug over by eager seekers of buried treasure. The Acadians for the last thirty years of their stay at Beaubassin and elsewhere in the locality did not allow the gold they received for their produce to circulate. Even after Fort Lawrence was established, the French farmers across the Missiquash dealt with the British, who paid in gold. These luckless people, as a rule, took no hoarded wealth with them when they were deported. In many instances their family savings were buried for a year or two before the deportation. Heads of families were captured and sent away without being allowed to return to their homes. Others fled at a moment's notice, never to return. There must be scores of hiding places never yet revealed. Many have been found, and each year sees new searchers busy with shovels or magic "finders."

In the year 1834 a man named Bent lived not far from Fort Cumberland. The house he occupied had been built by the French and was situated close to the shores of the Basin. One evening, just at sunset, a strange schooner was noticed sailing in from the bay, and it came to anchor about a mile from land. This caused Bent some anxiety, but when he rose in the morning the stranger had gone. Going around his house he discovered that the large

stone doorstep had been removed and beneath where it had lain was the hollowed imprint of a three-legged iron pot. The mission of the mysterious schooner was solved. A farmer at Minudie, while plowing in a field, unearthed an iron pot of gold in 1845. In 1872, when the Intercolonial railway was laid through the Fort district, the workers uncovered a small chest of French gold on the Beausejour slope. Besides this they revealed many other grim relics, the bones of the earliest settlers of the Isthmus, as they dug through the old cemetery donated by La Vallière. Muskets, arrows, bayonets, a telescope, cannon balls, etc., have been uncovered from time to time, and the writer has in his possession a pair of heavy wrist-irons that were unearthed near the Missiquash, still holding secure some unfortunate whose identity or manner of death will never be known. A farmer, on the Fort ridge, while excavating for a cellar, found so much gold that he moved at once to the States and lived comfortably without working for the remainder of his days. An old Acadian barn remained near the marshes, and as time passed the great timbers warped until the structure needed to be kept filled with hay to hold it upright. Above the wide swinging doors, with mighty homemade hinges, were two wide pine boards, over six-inch studding, just a part of the old barn, dusty and hung with cobwebs. One night a stranger came by and asked the farmer nearby permission to put up for the night. Assent was given, and he was allowed quarters in the weave house, with the loom and spinning wheel as companions. In the morning the strange guest had gone, the big barn doors were wide open, the pine boards above lay splintered on the ground, and in the litter on the

barn floor was found a dainty goblet of solid silver. A cavity was revealed in the old timbers, but the remainder of its contents had been taken. There are at least a score more of authentic accounts of Acadian treasure found in the past. But up at Jolicure, half-way across the Isthmus, is the master key to the greatest treasure in the ridge. During the middle of the last century a blacksmith there, happening to look out of his shop, saw one of his cows in difficulty in the pasture. Her hindquarters were sunken in some cavity. Hastening to her aid, he found she had broken through a timbered covering to a well-like pit. With a shovel he uncovered a ringed space, twenty-five feet in diameter. It was topped with logs over which rested two feet of soft loam. Removal of the logs disclosed a proper shaft, cemented all around with a substance resembling gutta percha. This filling came away readily, and after going down twenty feet a plank platform was found. On it were mysterious hieroglyphics, but in such a state of decay that the impatient smith ignored them and went on. Another platform was encountered ten feet lower down and then the diggers struck water. It came in over night, and thereafter poured in like a deluge, driving the workers back at every attempt to go farther. The smith exhausted his own resources and those of his friends in trying to sink the shaft and keep out the water. A company was formed and a mineral auger used, which showed a finding of gold, silver and other metals. Hydraulic pumps were installed and operations carried on on a large scale. It was useless—the water conquered, and never was the cache reached. A hundred explanations have been given, a hundred guesses made, but no man can truthfully say who

buried this great treasure, how he buried it, or when. Near it a farmer plowed up a heap of French silver and pewter plates.

There is much of interest to relate regarding the years when Fort Cumberland was the main trading centre. Towards the last of the eighteenth century it boasted many large establishments and wealthy land owners. Slaves were bought and sold, the prevailing price being forty dollars. Rum was one of the main necessities of life, and as much as fifteen hogsheads were stored at Point de Bute for the winter's use, while two hogsheads of sugar would suffice. Good rum then sold for seven shillings per gallon, while even a raccoon skin would bring eleven shillings, thus placing the liquor in reach of all. Fur and fish were easily gotten and both found ready markets.

So plentiful were the furbearers that we find record of the first-comers being forced to picket the tops of the dykes to prevent the mink and muskrat getting at their crops. One old trapper remarks that he has had good results with his deadfalls for bears, having just caught his thirtieth bruin.

At Point de Bute, in 1788, the first Methodist Church in Canada was built on land deeded by the holder, William Chapman, to "John Wesley and his successors in the Methodist Line." The price recorded for the church site was five shillings. The building of stone, with a thatched roof, has long since vanished, but a year ago a memorial gate was erected at an assembly of all the United Church clergymen in the Maritimes.

Acadia is the cradle of the Dominion. Her first colony was established three years before a white man's hut was erected at "Old Quebec." In the

gleaming waters of Annapolis Basin slipped the first vessel built this side of the Atlantic; through the woods and tangled growth of that region ran the first highway in America; the first mill on this continent there ground wheat and corn; the first kiln was established there, the first garden planted. The missionary of the village converted old Memberton, a mighty Micmac chief, over one hundred years of age, and the only Indian the French encountered who wore a beard. This was the first start of Christianity in the New World, the first convert. The first churches were built in Acadia, and so on right through to the First Public Gardens at old Halifax. The Rev. Alexander Sharpe, a writer of Plymouth, England, in a recent article dealing with our history, stated:

"Historically, Nova Scotia is the most famous of all the Canadian provinces, and its story is a very romantic one."

And he is correct.

Nova Scotia is singularly picturesque and flavoured with romance. The best blood of France christened those first settlements of old Acadia, and the courage and tenacity of French peasants salvaged the great marshlands that are world-famous. In many parts the Norman cap and kirtle still survive; in places the quaint gutturals of German pioneers live on. Cape Breton, glens and eastern counties of the mainland are endeared by Scotch memories and the Gaelic of the Highlander is common. Micmac legends linger, and the whole is leavened by the healthy patriotic fervour of the United Empire Loyalists and Yorkshire farmers. And Winslow's grim New Englanders have left pages in our history that will never be forgotten.

Nowhere on this continent is there such a combination of all that is interesting, and at the Isthmus of Chignecto, the key to old-time Acadia, centre all the pictures of those stirring times. Largest of the Acadian holdings, headquarters of La Loutre and his Micmacs, battle-ground for threescore years, this "Century of Chignecto" portrays but a fraction of its romance and history.

James F. W. Johnston, M.A., F.R.S.S.L. & E., in his "Notes of North America," published in 1851, writes:

"The old fort stands at the extremity of a yellow or gray sandstone ridge, which runs as other elevations do, nearly south-west, separating two great divisions of marshland and terminating in a promontory before it reaches the waters of the Bay.

"The view from the Fort is not only extensive and beautiful, but economically interesting. In front, the Cumberland basin, with its margin of lowlands and wooded heights, stretches as far as the eye can reach. On either hand the wide alluvial flats and marshes, with the tiny silvery streams flowing through them; and beyond these marshes which fill the valleys, the rich high lands apparently closing around them in the distance like a vast amphitheatre; while scattered farmhouses, lone settlements and compact towns or villages, and grazing cattle, and hay coils dotting the field, and still uncarried corn, throw an air of life and industry over the whole. The name Beausejour given to the fort by the French, and of Beau Basin and Cumberland Basin, convey their idea of the beauty of the site and of the beauty it commanded in their time." (Mr. Johnston was mistaken in this. Beausejour was so called from "Butte à Beausejour,"

the little crest of the promontory where lived a French farmer named Beausejour; Beaubassin was named after the eldest son of La Vallière.)

I shall close this volume with verses penned by a visitor to the Fort, Mr. R. V. Sharpe:

Sunset Over Tantramar

Sun and shadow on the marshes,
  Stretching to the far away,
And a gleam across the waters
  Of a distant silver bay,
Weave a hazy cloud of glory
  To the purple hills afar,
While the day is slowly dying
  Over silent Tantramar.

Shadow figures come from nowhere,
  League on league across the plain,
Sweep from evening to the morning,
  Sweep and fade, and come again,
And the song of all the ages
  Dances in the golden glow,
And the marshes seem adreaming—
  Dreaming of the long ago,

While the fires of the sunset
  Leap and flare and sink and die,
And the curtain, low descending,
  Sinks across the western sky.
But a single shaft of glory
  Sweeps the scene of ancient war,
And the light that lives in story
  Glows on distant Beausejour.

So across the silent marshes
  Swam the sunset long ago;
Other eyes within those ramparts
  Watched the shadows ebb and flow.

Forms and faces long forgotten
In the march of time and chance,
Lingered in the twilight shadows,
Dreaming of their distant France.

Sun and shadow, song and story,
Year and year, and day on day—
On the ruins of their glory
Sunset softly fades away.
Darkness hides the broken fortress,
Deepens on the plains afar,
And the silent stars are gleaming
Over brooding Tantramar.

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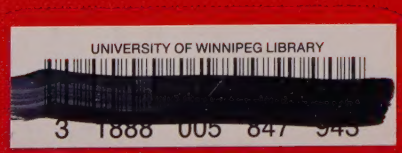
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